

Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#37/Summer '93
Vol.13, No.3

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Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

By Fredy Perlman

Raoul Vaneigem

**The
Fascination
of Time**

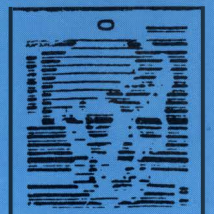
John Zerzan

**Rank and File
Radicalism in
the KKK of
the 1920s**

**How Nice to
be Civilized!**

What is Race?

Shining Path



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Short news and comment articles or reviews which are used in "Openers," "The Sad Truth," "Alternative Media Review" or "International Anarchist News" may be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features, fiction) will be edited only with the author's permission. **Anarchy** editors reserve the power to make editorial comments, to run introductions or responses, to classify articles, and to place sidebars wherever deemed appropriate. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free issues &/or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation. Deadlines for submissions are Jan. 15th for the Spring issue, April 15th for the Summer issue, July 15th for the Fall issue, and Oct. 15th for the Winter issue, but it *always* helps to get submissions in earlier!

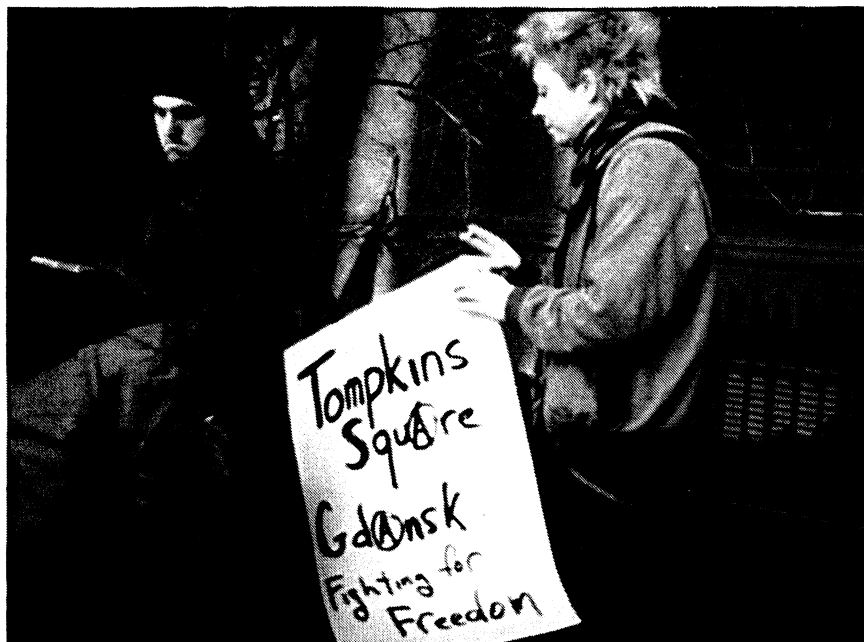
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-OGB photo

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-Mark Neville

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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."

--B.A.G. Fuller

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Inside Anarchy

Welcome to the Summer '93 issue of *Anarchy*. This issue has been primarily dedicated to the interrelated themes of nationalism, racism and fascism, though it would obviously take several entire issues to do such a collection of themes justice.

Des Réfractaires' "How Nice to be Civilized!" starts things off with a quick analysis of the *civilized* roots of the 'civil' wars in the former Yugoslavian territories. Manolo Gonzalez contributes a longer analysis of the guerrilla war in Peru which seeks to impose an imported European-Asian (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) nationalist solution on a largely indigenous South American peasant population. Fredy Perlman's classic essay, "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism," follows with a thorough examination of the major nationalist trends now seeking to impose civilization and empire over every square inch of the globe. Neal Keating presents a quick deconstruction of the concept of race. And John Zerzan contributes an essay which was written in the '70s but remained unpublished because of concerns that it might be too controversial. However, given the recent resurgence of various right-wing, nativist, populist and proto-fascist movements, it seems important to reexamine the history of these movements for clues to their strengths, weaknesses and potential points of subversion in relation both to the traditional left, as well as to revolutionary libertarian currents. To this end, John Zerzan's revisionist historical account of the "Rank and File Radicalism in the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s" ought to provide much food for discussion.

Unfortunately, we are still far behind in publishing our backlog of letters. Undoubtedly there will be many disappointed readers who were hoping to see their corre-

spondence show up in this issue. We are genuinely sorry that we remain so far behind. Please be assured that we try to print all letters in the rough order in which they are received, so if yours didn't show up this time, it will almost certainly appear in the fall issue. We have received a few responses to our call for suggestions on how to deal with the surfeit of letters. Though there is no consensus, the predominant feeling seems to be that a little more editing and weeding out would be worthwhile. Several people have mentioned that they wouldn't mind seeing Molly Gill's letters eliminated, though deleting one person's letters would hardly put a dent in the larger problem of lack of space for all the rest. Perhaps with our next issue we should shorten the letter length limit from four double-spaced, typed pages to two or three pages? Any other suggestions?

In addition to developing a backlog of letters, we've also fallen behind in publishing book reviews. With each issue we produce, it is disappointing to us (and I'm sure to our reviewers as well) to have to put aside timely reviews for later issues. We do hope to make some headway with upcoming issues, and we appreciate the patience shown by both reviewers and readers.

Corrections

In the spring issue of *Anarchy* we published a list of *Anarchy* distributors—generally a year or more behind in their payments—under the heading of "Distributor Hall of Shame." While we still haven't heard from most of those listed, we are happy to say that Laughing Horse Books in Portland and Rainbow Bookshop in Madison, Wisconsin have both brought their payments up to date. As was noted in the spring issue, these were the two bookshops we thought most likely to pay us if and when they were able, and we genuinely apologize for listing them only a matter of

Anarchy wholesale distributors

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weeks before they were finally able to bring their accounts up to date. We certainly encourage readers to patronize these stores, along with all the others listed on the previous page. Without independent and sympathetic bookstores and newsstands, the entire alternative press (and the milieus that depend upon it) would be much more invisible and isolated. Support, patronize and enjoy the alternative press. Help keep it strong and make it stronger!

Because of the earlier deadline for the cover of this issue, it's too late to make an addition to the credit for the review on the inside back cover (page 83). So I'll note here that "Vagit Prop" first appeared in *Le Monde* on Dec. 6, 1984. The translation was done by Lucy Forsyth and Michel Prigent in 1986 and recently revised by Bob Black.

Production changes

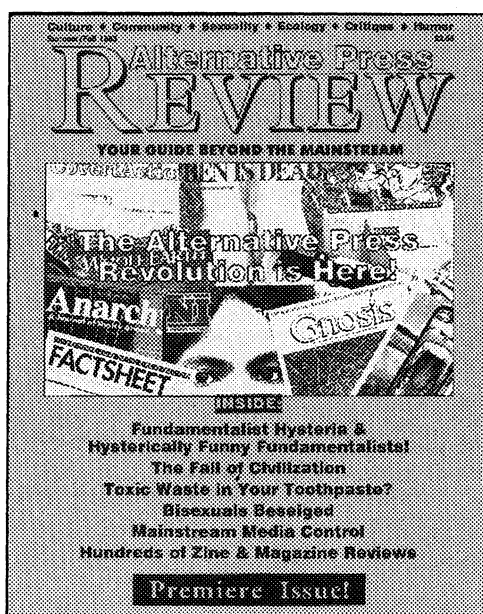
Shortly after our last issue appeared, long-time *Anarchy* co-editor Toni Otter announced that he would no longer be taking responsibility for our subscription mailings or our sample issue mailings (in response to advertisements we'd been placing in *Utne Reader* and *Mother Jones*). Toni had also been taking care of coordinating our book reviews, functioning as interim poetry editor, and in general contributing as much or more than anyone else to making this magazine a relatively successful cooperative project. Due to recent changes in his life, Toni is interested in developing his activities in other areas. Although he is leaving his major role in the magazine, he will continue to contribute by proof-reading during layout, by sharing his skills and knowledge in the transition, and in other ways.

In order to make up for Toni's absence and continue to publish *Anarchy* without cutting back in other ways, a few changes will be necessary. The biggest will involve remunerating those who do the work involved in our mailings of future issues. There is simply no one here who wants to volunteer to take over for Toni. And, as well, I've grown tired of handling the tasks of maintaining subscription lists, doing distributor mailings, and processing invoicing and collections...in addition to all the other tasks I'm much more excited about handling. *Anarchy* will continue to be produced by an entirely voluntary, unpaid cooperative editorial staff. But from here on out some of the major shit work will need to be paid shit work.

Another major change is the direct consequence of paying for these aspects of distribution formerly done by volunteers: raising the price of this magazine. Only a few months ago we had all agreed not to raise our cover price as long as we thought we could continue to get by on the \$2.50 we've been charging. We all feel strongly

that anarchist periodicals, especially, should be as cheap and as easily available as possible—things at which we feel we've been pretty successful. However, given our present circumstances, this seems to be our best response. Each issue of *Anarchy* probably requires between five hundred and a thousand hours of work by the small staff here in Columbia—time away from friends and family, and time which can't be devoted on our own livelihoods.

So with this issue the cover price has increased to \$3.00 and our subscription prices have increased to more accurately reflect their value: \$12/year for regular subscriptions, \$15/year for subscriptions in envelopes, and \$18/year for subscriptions sent by First Class mail. In addition, we are



asking for contributions from readers to help pay for subscriptions to prisoners, who are by far our fastest growing category of subscribers. Nor can we any longer afford to send out free copies of current or back issues to prisoners, since the postage costs for this type of non-bulk mail are prohibitive. From this point, prisoner subscriptions will always begin with the next issue to be published.

Next issues

Our Fall issue will probably focus on the theme of the critique of ideology & morality. We are still encouraging submissions on this theme (final deadline is July 15th), though, we cannot guarantee that everything submitted will make it into print. Other suggestions for future issues include "Anarchy & Violence," "Anti-organization," "Libertarian Education," "Anti-technology," "Psychiatry/Mental Illness," "Transportation," "False Opposition," "Individualism,"

"Free market anarchism," "Communes & Co-ops," "Rent Refusal" and "Prison Abolition." We'd be happy to consider submissions concerning any of these subjects and more, but remember, without submissions on these topics we won't be able to conjure up a theme issue out of thin air!

Alternative Press Review

Some of the people involved in producing *Anarchy* are planning to publish a new magazine as a spin-off from the "Alternative Press Review" column which has appeared here for the last six years or so. Though it has not been decided yet, this may be the last issue of *Anarchy* to include the full "Alternative Press Review," listing every issue of every zine, magazine and tabloid that we receive. As readers will have noted, this review column has continually grown in size, threatening to consume more and more space in our already overcrowded pages. Thus, it may need to be trimmed down to a listing of recommended reading, or transferred entirely to the new magazine which will be published under this same title. Readers' thoughts on this question are solicited.

Why publish another magazine? One of our major goals in producing *Anarchy* is to reach out to new readers who have never before encountered well-formulated libertarian perspectives. Although we've done fairly well in this regard as is shown by our widespread newsstand distribution, there are inherent limitations to publishing a strictly anarchist-identified periodical. To overcome these limitations without giving up on the focus and relative coherence of *Anarchy*, it makes sense to publish an entirely separate magazine with its own identity, a broader range of appeal and greater potential circulation. To that end the first issue of *Alternative Press Review* will appear this summer, reprinting a wide selection of the best articles and excerpts we run across in reading the hundreds of zines, newsletters, magazines, and tabloids that we receive regularly. The liberal/progressive/left has the *Utne Reader* to reprint its materials, bringing them to a wider audience and cross-fertilizing that particular milieu. The broad non/anti-authoritarian milieu deserves a similar, if not better, vehicle to promote its more genuinely 'alternative' sector of the alternative press. We'd like to provide that vehicle with *APR*, and we hope you'll support this new project. You'll find a subscription advertisement on page 59 with special Charter Subscription rates available for a limited time this summer. We hope you'll consider lending a hand to help get the *Alternative Press Review* off the ground—as well as getting another good read at a very reasonable price.

—Jason McQuinn

How Nice To Be Civilized!

Assassinations, massacres, rape, torture: these crimes committed on the soil of what was once Yugoslavia are not the acts of uncontrollable savages; of educationless brutes.

No doubt as children they respected the family order; are now more or less faithful followers of religions; earnest sports spectators;

content with television. In a word, civilized folks; normal people doing what society expects them to!

Each crime demonstrates the success of diverse processes of domestication which have come to be grouped under the heading of Civilization.

The killers, rapists and perpetrators of mas-

sacres have exceptionally well internalized today's world's fundamental logic: to survive, other people must be destroyed! This mutual mangling takes different forms, such as economic competition or war. But the result is always the same: some must be trampled in order to give others the impression that they are living more and better. Being civilized signifies not taking your own life and those of others into consideration. It means letting your life be used, exploited and dominated by the always-superior interests of the collectivity where fate decreed that you would be born and live your life. And all for the financial etc. gain of the authorities of the collectivity in question. In exchange for this submission one is granted the possibility of being accepted as a human being.

Being civilized, as well, signifies sacrificing your life, and those of others, when those in power attempt to solve their management problems with wars.

Aside from a variety of benefits they offer, wars represent a very efficient means of directing feelings of frustration against people who, designated as prey, can then be oppressed, humiliated and killed without qualms. Those who suffer, as with those who take pleasure in making others suffer, become nothing more than instruments of the conditions of social existence, conditions where lives are only important in relation to the use that can be made of them.

Following the collapse and decomposition of the Eastern Bloc, various local and international gangsters have slots to fill, markets to conquer and energies to channel through the formation of new States.

To help slice up the pie, local political gangs have deftly played the religious and nationalist cards. And if these cards work effectively, unfortunately, it is because, for a portion of the population, this collapse and decomposition have not been perceived as openings towards increased freedom. On the contrary, people have experienced an immense emptiness, one that has been alleviated with nationalist and religious alienations which are often decked out in a tawdry grab-bag of local history and culture. Instead of attempting to understand and attack the real causes of our material and psychological misery, too often people are thrown into a state of disarray. In response to this disarray identities are presented as lost values to be recaptured, whereas these values are simply the ideological cement which is the prerequisite to founding and developing State entities propped up by alliances between local and world powers.

Nor, in a climate of generalized terror, is there any hesitation to accomplish this by displacing populations and practising ethnic cleansing in order to redistribute land. In this sense, don't the peace plan concocted in Geneva and hypothetical military intervention rubberstamp the UN's recognition of the dismemberment of the territory of former Yugoslavia? And if this is to be the price of pacification,



Graphic by Mark Neville (POB 3187, Fremont, CA. 94539-0318).

everyone just closes their eyes to the cortege of horrors which is integral to every war.

The humanitarian organizations, cynically baptized non-governmental, present the dismal paradox of inciting pity and indignation while at the same time impeding the possibility of spontaneous participation from which true human solidarity could be born.

Today humanitarianism is a true lobby in a financial, human and media sense. But beyond generating money humanitarianism carries out an educational task, channeling emotions and arousing feelings of indignation on a specific and regular basis—paving the way to military intervention in humanitarian wars which the State undertakes to supposedly respond to pressure from a public indignant about the very real massacres that they are powerlessly witnessing. This type of media treatment's only goal is to convince people that alone, by themselves, nothing can be done; the State is in a position to come to the rescue and will watch out for their political and strategic interests.

Everything is peachy because everyone consoles themselves with the thought that peace and democracy are a privilege—the proof being that elsewhere, over there, all is war and barbarism.

Denouncing the horrors, collecting accounts from the local population, exhorting the government to intervene, the media have the starring role in this affair. Real recruiting sergeants! As to be expected, the media have carefully edited out any information about those in ex-Yugoslavia who oppose the war, carefully concealing information about the 1992 massacres in Zagreb and Sarajevo which put the finishing touches on repressing the movements against the war. These horrors are necessary in order to lay the basis for the right to intervene, to invent humanitarian wars and to create tribunals to judge the vanquished. The "New World Order" which is coming into being is cutting its teeth on small nation-State wars; it provides the arms, then comes to the rescue, basing its activities in each case on a flood of horrifying images!

Thus exalting ethnic, national and religious identities goes hand in hand with gang warfare to constitute a new hierarchy of Godfathers.

In response to the growth of ghettos—those artificial separations and false communities which allow the world of money and domination to thrive on human life—we, as people who are refractory to the world around us, would like to affirm our community of struggle and aspirations with those who are refusing the war in ex-Yugoslavia, those who see themselves above all as "human beings who want to live" and not cannon fodder.

We are refractory to all that is the glory of civilization. We want to live human relations that would no longer be based on appropriation, competition and hierarchy, and would thus be relations in which individuals would no longer be obliged to treat themselves a priori as adversaries and enemies.

-Des Réfractaires

This text was collectively written, and sent from Paris by Gérard. Des Réfractaires is a new group which doesn't have a post office box at present. Translated by Michael William.



A visitor to a cemetery in Sarajevo searching the hillside for the markers of relatives.

1992 C.A.L. PRESS Financial Statements

Income Statement

<u>Income</u>	
Direct sales (subs, back issues, books).....	\$7,069.20
Distributor Sales.....	11,675.17
Donations.....	2,376.65
Gross Receipts.....	21,121.02
Interest Received.....	5.33
Total income.....	\$21,126.35
<u>Expense</u>	
Cost of Printing.....	\$8,550.00
Materials & Supplies.....	95.50
Wholesale Books Cost.....	204.00
Total Cost of Goods.....	\$8,849.50
Advertising.....	\$3,478.00
Postage Costs.....	8,008.00
Office Expenses.....	996.53
Refunds.....	28.00
Fees & Legal Expenses.....	1.00
Missouri Sales Tax.....	11.43
Utilities.....	132.42
Phone.....	198.09
Other Total Costs.....	\$12,928.02
Total Expense.....	\$21,777.52
NET INCOME.....	<\$651.17>

(Note: C.A.L. had a net loss for the year of \$651.17 which was largely made up by loans.)

Balance Sheet

<u>Assets</u>	
Cash.....	\$206.52
Checking Account.....	77.10
Savings Account.....	167.10
Total Cash Assets.....	\$450.72
Books Inventory.....	\$295.56
Periodicals Inventory.....	774.32
Total Inventory Assets.....	\$1,069.88
Sales Tax Bond.....	\$100.00
Total Assets.....	\$1,620.60
<u>Liabilities</u>	
Outstanding loans.....	\$2,828.61
Total Liabilities.....	\$2,828.61
<u>Capital/Equity</u>	
Retained Earnings.....	<\$1,208.01>
Total Net Equity.....	<\$1,208.01>
TOTAL LIABILITIES & EQUITY.....	\$1,620.60

Despite the fact that we have enormous antipathy for bookkeeping and all the legal capitalist requirements for maintaining a publishing project, we're presenting these figures in order to let our readers, supporters and collaborators know how (& what) we're doing financially on an annual basis.

Peru: The Ideology Of Apocalypse Shining Path To What?

BY Manolo Gonzalez



Indentured servant, sugar estate, 1890s.

Introduction

In one episode of his novel, *Yawar Fiesta—Feast of Blood—*, the Peruvian writer José María Arguedas describes in painful detail the combat of a condor tied to the neck and shoulders of a bull. Seldom does either animal win. The bird pecks madly, trying to get away from the enraged bull. Often the bull, blinded and exhausted, collapses and crushes the condor to death. This ritual has been performed at religious festivities for about three hundred years, since the Spaniards introduced European cattle into the Peruvian Andes. Arguedas uses this as an allegory of the violent, never-resolved conflict resulting from the invasion of the American continent by the Europeans. The rapacious policies of Spain, the super-exploitation of the indigenous population and the violent methods used to obtain total submission reflect one of the most cruel episodes of history. Perhaps up to 10 million Peruvians were murdered or died of European infectious diseases, and that in only the first 25 years of the invasion. Thousands of temples, administrative posts, roads and aqueducts were wantonly destroyed. Cities like Cuzco, Caxamarca were disfigured or almost demolished. The expropriation of the communal lands of the natives by the Europeans was a religious desecration of the beliefs of the Peruvians who revered the Earth, the *Pachamama*, as an all life-giving deity. Precious objects of art were melted for their gold or moved into European museums, or private collections. A practice that still continues today.

In Peru, class conflict has always been exacerbated by racial hatred. The lower classes are always *Cholos*, when not *zambos* or *cutatos* for people of African descent. There is the term *chinitos* for any oriental, like President Alberto Fujimori. The rich and powerful are always considered white, regardless the color of their skin.

Furthermore, different ethnic groups are antagonistic towards each other. Peruvians from the coast seldom recognize their brothers and sisters from other regions as their legitimate countrymen. Racial epithets fly around at the least expected occasions, be they soccer or politics.

In Peru, a sense of nation, of having a common background and common symbols to unify the country, has never existed. It is common for Peruvians to call themselves members of the "independent republic of Cuzco," or "Arequipa", etc. The middle classes of Lima identify with New York, Paris or even Moscow but reject Peruvians from the highlands or the jungle.

Geography is one of the most brutal challenges to the Peruvian people. The Andes cross

the country from north to south, creating three regions: the arid, desolated coastal deserts; the highland sierras; and the Amazonic jungle. Each of these regions is a separate entity economically and culturally, always in conflict with the other regions. There has never been a cohesive policy of building roads or creating efficient systems of communications. Most railways are from the 19th century, built by British or Americans. 20th century travelers in Peru have observed that, if you travel from West to East, you will move from the present to the late 19th century and when you arrive in the jungle, you will be in the Stone Age. Yet United Nations functionaries still manage to say that Peruvians, decedents of the Incas, live royally compared to the abject poverty and misery of Bangladesh or Northern India.

20th century technology has blanketed Peru with the message of rock and roll and blue jeans. Radio and TV has transformed the descendants of the Incas into consumers of Capitalism's junk. The most popular soft drink is called Inca Cola. But these stand in sharp contrast to another reality. The peasants of the Andes and the dwellers of the slums of Lima and other urban centers live in terrible conditions, victims of exploitation, unemployment and diseases long-ago controlled in most of the world. Cholera, tuberculosis, venereal disease are rampant in these improvised villages. No wonder an uncontrollable rage has exploded.

Paradoxes, contradictions and exaggerations are the biggest obstacles for those of us who deal with Peru's history. An Italian geographer created a phrase that is a national obsession to all Peruvians. Antonio Raymondi said, "Peru is a beggar seated on a bench of gold."

The Failure Of Ideology

In 1980 when *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) started its military operations, Peru was in the middle of the most profound crisis ever in its 150 years of Republican existence. Both economic illusions and long-revered ideological sacred cows had failed.

First, due to ecological reasons and overfishing, the fish industry had collapsed. Since 1950, almost a million highland peasants had abandoned their lands to work along the coast in a profitable new industry. Peru became the world's largest exporter of anchovies and fish meal. A gigantic fleet of "Bolicheras," high sea fishing vessels, annually caught over \$75 million worth of fish. When the industry collapsed in the late 60's, millions of Peruvians were affected. By 1970 the desperate, unemployed invaded the streets of Lima in a wave of crime and violence. Nevertheless, the government did not realize its political implications.



Sendero Luminoso guerrilla column in Ayacucho.

Second, the leftist military, in a period of State Socialism, managed to impose radical nationalization of mines and industries and the century old dream of social reformers: the Agrarian Reform. But workers could not control artificial industries or compete against international prices. The peasants did not benefit at all from the land given to them in a rather chaotic manner. No technical assistance, mechanical equipment nor seeds were available, and, without social incentives, the long-awaited Agrarian Reform turned into a disheartening tragedy. The peasants continued emigrating to the coast for jobs in factories and the fishing industry, abandoning the land to the despair of romantic social equalitarians and Marxist intellectuals.

Third, the election of Fernando Belaunde Terry in 1980 was the end of any democratic illusions about social change. Belaunde was a most inept man, arrogant and obsessed with expensive pet projects, like building a highway in the Amazonian jungle, ignoring the massive social problems surrounding him. Congress, controlled by the middle-class APRA party that had dominated the political scene for 60 years, followed a policy of sectarian opposition to Belaunde, more on a political basis than due to any programmatic differences. It is no coincidence that Abimael Guzman, the so-called Presidente Gonzalo of *Sendero Luminoso*, decided in 1980 to launch a frontal attack on all the institutions of Peru. In reality there was not much left after the chaos of State Socialism and the restoration of European democracy. Belaunde continued a hysterical purchase of arms because someone had the idea that in 1979, one hundred years after the War of the Pacific with Chile, there should be a revenge for Peru's humiliating defeat. All this was paid for with money borrowed from international banks, monies that could never be repaid because Peru could barely afford to service the massive interest charges on the loans.

Coca: Just Another Industry

In the meantime, Peru had become the main producer of coca. Recondite valleys in the Andes easily hid coca cultivation, as well as the army of Presidente Gonzalo. The cultivation and use of coca leaves is a cultural leftover of the Inca civilization. Among the peasants of the highland chewing coca was nothing more than a potent snack to combat fatigue and the physical demands of working in the high altitude of the Andes. For over a century, coca was a monopoly of the State. Cultivators sold the leaves to government agencies, which then distributed it to consumers in a rather ordinary way, through regular stores, together with liquor, matches and cigarettes, all monopolies of the State. It was the Coca Cola company that first decided to buy large quantities of the leaves for its famous soda, but it was the elegant elite of Europe and the United States that made cocaine a drug of choice. Even Cole Porter popularized the alkaloid. But, when poor Peruvian peasants began selling coca leaves to different organizations of drug traffickers, the success of the enterprise had unexpected results. Tragic consequences for Peru and the battle for control of the coca crop started. International agencies, mafias and political operatives from many nations fought for the right to buy, and thereby control, the superb leaves of the Peruvian Andes.

Prelude To Insurgency

The insurgency of *Shining Path* was a desperate, almost spontaneous movement of a provincial college professor, students, and unemployed youth. Cadres were easily recruited from the gigantic slums that surrounded Lima, Arequipa and ports like Chimbote, still suffering from the effects of the collapse of the fishing industry.

Since the beginning of the 20th century,

Peruvian politics had experienced a predictable left/right polarization, the usual array of Marxists and pseudo-Marxists versus the right-wing, including, in the early '30s, black shirt fascists and Franco admirers. But the Peruvian aristocracy had always controlled the most effective political force, the Army. Since the 1950s, the Army had been indoctrinated in the anti-Communist doctrines of Eisenhower and the CIA, or the anti-insurgency '007' tactics of Kennedy. But, in the classical style of tropical contradictions, the Army decided in the '70s to try Socialism! Socialism failed, but things were not back to business as usual. Mass mobilizations had occurred and industrial workers, peasants and students were forming cadres for a Maoist revolution, at the moment the most fashionable theory for armed struggle among Third World revolutionaries.

The original Peruvian Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International and loyal follower of the Leninist ideology of the Soviet Union had become a bureaucratic apparatus, an active collaborator with the so-called "progressive bourgeoisie." But the rift between the CPs or China and Moscow had repercussions on most of the radical left in Peru, as well as in the rest of the Third World. Abimael Guzman, a professor of Philosophy at the University of Huamanga (Ayacucho), fought inside the Moscow-oriented CP of Peru to follow a more radical line. In 1969 he was expelled from the party, and Guzman and his followers found a Maoist faction, reclaiming the name of the Communist Party of Peru for themselves.

Fire In The Andes!

The political parties of Peru were not ready for the offensive of *Sendero Luminoso*. Elections in 1980 were more or less normal, except for the minor inconvenience of the Maoist group in Ayacucho launching its first military operation. By the 1985 elections, won by APRA,



Peruvian soldiers take positions outside the capital city of Lima.

Shining Path had devastated the capital of Peru with constant assaults on the police, bombings and mobilizations of its cadres in the slums, the "pueblos jóvenes." The European-oriented APRA party was, not only totally incapable of resolving the crisis, but actually precipitated in an orgy of corruption, petty revenge and sporadic brutal attacks on the regions where Shining Path operated. The Army routinely massacred thousands of peasants in Ayacucho, Alto Hualaga, Puno and other Andean points of resistance. To no one's surprise, the armed forces became deeply involved in the 'protection' of the coca business organizations, both local and from abroad.

The violence of *Sendero Luminoso*, its irreducible dogmatism, and, especially, its mystical reverence for Presidente Gonzalo's thought gives the movement a formidable image as an uncompromising political ideology. Peruvians have always managed to, somehow, combine political theories into civilized arrangements that have made Socialists of the Army or fashionable Communists of the children of the rich. Shining Path, however, is different, and perhaps, that is its biggest weakness.

It has been said many times that people with deep religious feelings cannot become capitalists or communists in their many forms. Peruvian middle classes are strongly indoctrinated in Catholicism. By and large, the peasants still keep the old pantheism of the Incas. Shining Path tries to define Peru as a peasant society, separated and segregated from the rest of the world. In the desolated mountains of the Andes, deep in the jungle, even in the small towns around Cuzco, Puno and Ayacucho, that vision of the country seems real, almost a justification for recreating the glory of the Inca Confederation. But neither Maoist ideology nor a nostalgic conception of history is adequate to solve the problems of Peru. With a population of twenty million, heavy external debt and pressure from the IMF, and the tutelage of the United States,

the country cannot escape the ups and downs of the current world economy. If capitalism is trying to survive and retain its hold on Third World countries, Peru is a terrible example of future conflicts.

Guerrillas And Romance

When the news of armed struggle in Peru started to appear in the world press, there was, at first, a very sympathetic response. Especially among social agencies, Church workers and liberal intellectuals who decried the poverty of Peruvian peasants. The social horror of Peru's misery had attracted the attention of the international press, observers and hopeful radicals.

Collage professors of Latin American studies called for support for the Peruvian revolution. *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* dedicated long pieces of reporting and analysis to the armed struggle in Peru. The repressive methods of the Peruvian government, whether Belaunde, APRA or Fujimori, had moved organizations like Amnesty International to denounce the country as one of the most flagrant violators of human rights. Shining Path still maintains a rather well-organized network of supporters in Europe and the USA. In the mid '80s, walls around Berkeley, California were covered with the slogan, "Support the Popular Revolution in Peru." One very large, impressive wall could be seen from the entrance to the Bay Bridge, covered with hammer and sickle and exhortations for revolution.

Few Americans knew what was happening, but CNN and the magazines started to report on the brutal confrontation that was going on in Peru. Committees of support appeared on the campus of UC Berkeley. Videos, lectures and college agitation soon added the war in Peru as another cause for the American Left. The presence of American advisers only enhanced the concept that Peru was the next Vietnam.

Typical of the interest shown by young liberal

intellectuals was an article published in the 1992 Winter issue of *New Politic*. Written by Professor Phillip Smith, a graduate of the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas in Austin, the piece concludes, "it is the responsibility of the U.S. Left to challenge the assumptions of 'narcoterrorism' and the international war on drugs as promoted by the Bush administration. It is certainly our place to fight against assistance to the Peruvian military—among the world's worst human rights violators. The threat of direct intervention is real. With the U.S. government in a chest-thumping mood after cheap and easy victories in Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf, and a public now conditioned for militarism, the temptation for Washington to 'straighten out the mess' may well be irresistible." His prediction of intervention, as many other predictions of the U.S. Left, is a reincarnation of the Vietnam syndrome. The Left forgets the lessons of El Salvador and Nicaragua, the war against the revolutionaries was by proxy and with mercenaries. In Peru the Army is an essential part of the privileged alliance, the backbone of the scared middle classes in Lima and other urban centers. The indiscriminate violence from both the Army and Sendero was a sobering effect that slowly penetrated liberal opinion.

Politics And Surrealism

The irrational political confrontation in the elections of 1990 left most observers flabbergasted. There was the old APRA, wasted and running scared, while the Ex-President was being indicted on charges of corruption. Traditional conservatives and Belaunde-followers backed Mario Vargas Llosa, novelist and admirer of British democracy. In a moment of irritation Vargas Llosa dropped out of the campaign, only to return to declare that Peru needed a Parliamentary Monarchy. (This while running for President of a 180-year old Republic.) Finally,



Sendero Luminoso guerrilla column in Sorata, Ayacucho.

there was the obscure candidate of a movement called Cambio 90, Alberto Fujimori. He only had to show his face and declare, "I'm more Peruvian than those other dudes!" While he made vague promises, it was his use of buzz words like 'blanquiñosos' (white crackers) that tapped into the profound racial antagonism that pervades Peruvian society. His strongest support came from the growing Protestant Evangelist movement that is challenging the Catholic Church, the official religion for centuries. No one won. The election went to Congress, and the APRA majority gave its support to Fujimori. Vargas Llosa wrote in *Granta* magazine, "After me Peru will fall into barbarism." He was almost right.

Popular War

Years of popular war has not weakened the State. On the contrary, Fujimori was free to justify his policies by pointing to the difficulties of fighting an internal war and trying to repay the external debt. He reestablished Peru's international credit in order to pay for the repression, a new bureaucracy and all the symbols of a modern nation. The condition of the poor continued to worsen, but the many calls for national insurrection by Shining Path have not been successful. Peruvians were certainly poor, but the violence of Shining Path was repugnant to the impoverished middle classes and, in a certain way, provoked indifference among the peasants. Certainly the murder of many cells of the Maoists, some in massacres within prisons, took a heavy toll on the direction of the movement.

In his many interviews, pamphlets and revolutionary literature, Abimael Guzman has never offered a political vision that could be embraced by the industrial workers or the unemployed. The new State, a vague phrase, like "after the revolution" in the '30s, is not a promise of a brighter future, but demands indoctrina-

tion, work and obedience. In a tropical nation that still takes its siesta time very seriously, this is a letdown to any potential revolutionary.

Is The End Near?

The capture early this year of Abimael Guzman, the elusive Presidente Gonzalo and most of his staff, moved the strategy of the Maoists into a new, never before accepted phase—political accommodation. Recently President Fujimori has accepted the visit of international groups concerned with human rights. The official press blasted the international delegations, but, still, they made it into Lima. *El Diario*, the semi-official newspaper of Sendero has appeared again in Lima. Perhaps Fujimori needs to play to the new Clinton administration in order to get help for loans and investments. Perhaps some of the revolutionaries realize that the military struggle is not an end in itself. There must be political objectives. The capture of the State apparatus, or at least the destruction of enough of the old ruling class to ensure a degree of popular power, needs the support of a large section of the oppressed. The Russian communist, with Leninist theories of a small, conspiratorial elite of terrorists and intellectuals, produces only a dictatorship, ready to commit the most heinous crimes, just as Bakunin predicted in his debate with Marx at the First International.

Sendero, or any other revolutionary group in Latin America, needs a solid base in the industrial proletariat while still keeping emotional and family ties to the rural population. The impoverished middle classes will respond only to a climate of freedom and productive work, not political patronage or selfish professionalism. The peasant population will never participate in any movement that has European theories as its ideology. Catholicism, Marxism, Maoism spell disaster for the indigenous masses of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Guatemala. Because

the question of State, popular power are immaterial to groups that see race and class as an ambiguous concepts, even as distortions of the social order. The masses of peasants need a Federation of independent enclaves, united by collective technology and social services, not a State run by the white elite, Marxist intellectuals or progressive capitalists.

Peru, and many other Third World nations, reflect the cruelest evidence of the erosion of the capitalist system. There cannot be a constant growing economy. This means that millions of human beings are reduced to starvation in order to maintain the system. At the same time, ecological disasters have precipitated economic crises for which even the seven powerful, industrialized nations cannot afford to pay. Just observe the ecological disasters in the former Soviet Union, in the U.S.A., in the North Sea. But even more serious for Peru and other countries, is the aspirations of its people to control their natural resources and the uncontrollable appetite of international corporations backed by the most powerful armies of Europe and the U.S.A.

The invasion of Latin America by Europeans will never have a peaceful solution. When Germany invaded its neighbors it eventually had to withdraw. So it was with the U.S.A. from Japan. But the Europeans have never moved out of Peru. What is needed is a Peace treaty, perhaps paying reparations to the indigenous populations and restoring a more natural order with the pre-Columbian institutions that still survive in the large Indian communities all over the Andes, from Ecuador, Peru to Bolivia. That region of Latin America has so many elements in common that it is not farfetched to envision a new Andean Confederation, there is already a name for it: Indoamerica. Meanwhile the drama of "Yawar Fiesta" repeats. The condor should be allowed to fly free!

As always, we're happy to exchange with other 'alternative' periodicals (of 8 pages or more—or 4 pages if tabloid size). I try to list all the publications that we receive in a timely way, but please be aware that there are times when this is impossible due to time and space limitations. Also keep in mind that the *Anarchy* issue we send for exchanges will be the one your publication is reviewed in, so please be patient. -Jason

Alternative press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

contributions like Mark Di Ianno's "Spike Lee: Bourgeois boor," David Clark's "Madonna exposed," Bill Paige's "What's porn to you is...," Nina Hartley's "Reflections of a feminist porn star," and even Phyllis Schlafly on "Pornography's victims." Always worth checking out. Sample copies are \$9.95 + \$2 p&h.

KOMOTIONINTERNATIONALLIVE & KICKING #5/undated (POB 410502, San Francisco, CA 94141-0502) is the 52pp. journal of the Komotion International project which also functions as a performance space, art gallery and recording studio. This issue includes Mat Callahan's "How do I have to look to tell the truth," David Schechter's "Participatory democracy: How could it work?" and Phil Lollar's "Where is this 51st state called 'Love'?" There's also a very enjoyable, eclectic compilation music cassette with the same title, featuring Genuine Diamelles, the Lookers, Idiot Flesh and Salsa 24, among others. Both cassette and journal are available for \$6. You can't beat the combination, so don't miss this. Or, subscriptions are included with membership for \$10/year (? issues)

by Marcus Endicott, "Camping & touring through Katúah forests" by Lee Barnes, a critique of "Tourism development" by Michal Smith, and "Bicycle touring in Katúah" by Patrick Clark. Check this out before they're gone. You can still obtain this issue, as well as most back issues for \$3 each.

ALSO RECEIVED:

Underground #1/undated (POB 613, London, SE22 9QT, England) is a visually impressive, 8-page newspaper-sized subversive equivalent to the *National Enquirer*. Lots of short articles like "The art of armed robbery" by Rob Banks, and "Media initiation rites: The devil told me to do it" by Tom Vague, along with bizarre pseudo-advertisements mixed in with a few of the real thing. Worth getting if you could use a few laughs. Send a contribution.

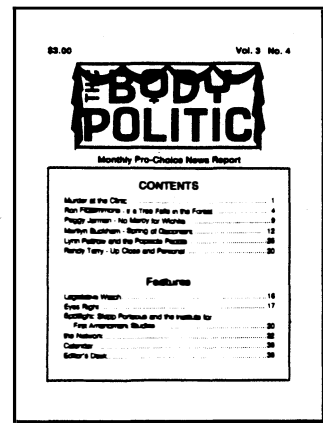
Incite Information Vol.4, #1/Mar.-April & #2/May-June '93 (1507 E. Franklin St. #530, Chapel Hill, NC. 27514) is a 16pp. bulletin of "News Analysis and Commentary," always a quick, pleasant read, with an occasional new angle on the news. Issue #1 includes Richard Kostelanetz on the Mike Tyson trial. Issue #2 includes Wayne Jebian's "Pot shot heard 'round the world," a couple short commentaries on the media AIDS spectacle by Mickey Z. and Richard Kostelanetz, and a timely reminder by Mark Hand that in the U.S. the Jewish Defense League has been a consistent source of "Homegrown terrorism." Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

NameBaseNewsLine #1/April-June '93 (Public Information Research, Box 5199, Arlington, VA. 22205) is the first 12-page issue of this periodical distributed exclusively to users of NameBase (a microcomputer database with 142,000 citations and 67,000 names primarily tied to the intersecting agendas of intelligence, military, diplomatic and corporate circles—see NameBase review elsewhere in this issue), containing a very interesting account of Bill Clinton's connections with the Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission and Bilderberg meetings. Free to purchasers of NameBase (\$79).

Factsheet 5 #47/undated (Seth Friedman, POB 170099, San Francisco, CA 94117-0099), the marginal/alternative press networking zine of zines is back with a second issue from the new publisher and looking good. This one weighs in at 112pp. packed with over thirteen hundred reviews, all organized by subject in sections including: Personal Zines, Spirituality, Sports, B-Movies, Science Fiction, Queer, Comics &

Humor, Music, and much more, complete with an index! If you haven't seen this zine, order one right now! Samples are \$4; subscriptions are \$20/6 issues.

Plazm #4/undated (1101 SW Washington, Suite 124, Portland, OR. 97205) 58pp. Impressively-produced quarterly art tabloid magazine, featuring short essays & fiction along with lots of strong graphics "dedicated to the unrestricted expression of ideas." This issue includes interviews with Henry Rollins and with Paul Barker of Ministry. Send \$4.50 for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$25/year.



The Body Politic Vol.3, #3/Mar., #4/April & #5/May '93 (POB 2363, Binghamton, NY. 13902) is an informative 38pp. zine billing itself as a "Monthly pro-choice news report." The March issue includes an interview with Margaret Sanger biographer Ellen Chesler. The April issue includes various commentaries on anti-abortionist violence, along with the first part of an interesting interview with religious right investigator Skipp Porteous. Single copies are \$3; subscriptions are \$18/year.

Gnosis #27/Spring '93 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is an 88pp. journal of "the Western inner Traditions." This issue on "Sacred Art & Music" includes a good analysis of the growth industry in creating childhood memories of sexual abuse titled "No thanks for the memories" by Ted Schultz, and Hakim Bey's "Immediatist manifesto," along with the many theme articles. Subscriptions are \$20.00/year (4 issues); samples are \$6 postpaid.

Frontier Report Vol.2, #9/Mar. & #10/April '93 (POB 8481, Kansas City, MO. 64114-0481) is a readable 8pp. monthly, "Independent, Unconventional, Non-commercial" community tabloid. Issue #9 includes a report on the plight of Sundiata Acoli titled "Political prisoners? In the United States?" In issue #10 Ida Fogle contributes a perceptive account of "The business of fixing people" (the shrink scam). The upcoming issue will be the last one, so grab a copy quick while there's still a chance. Single copies are 95¢.

New Liberation News Service Vol.3, #8/Feb. 1, thru #11/April 12, '93 (POB 325, Kendall Square Branch,

Mesechabe

The Journal of Surrealism

Gary Snyder: Nature's Writing • The Anarchist Geographers • Elise Reclus • John Sinclair • Ed Sanders • Elton Seidman • Moss Culler • Robert Nichols



MESECHABE #11/Winter '93 (7725 Coehn St., New Orleans, LA. 70118) is now a nicely-done 30pp. tabloid, subtitled "The Journal of Surrealism." This issue features Gary Snyder on "Nature's writing," the second part of Max Cafard's amusing "Cults of consumption" (on televangelists), John Clark on "The life and work of Elisee Reclus," and Camille Martin's translation of Reclus' account of his voyage to New Orleans in 1855 titled "An anarchist in the old South," along with loads of poetry, photos and sketches. Recommended. Cover price is \$3; subscriptions are \$15/5 issues.

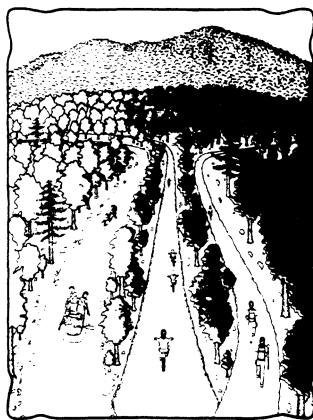
EARTH FIRST! Vol.13, #4/Eostar & #5/Beltane '93 (POB 5176, Missoula, MT. 59806) is a 40pp. tabloid of the Earth First! movement/organization. Issue #4 includes Bill Hipwell's cover story "Wolf spirit monkeywrenches helicopter in Yukon," and coverage of hunt saboteurs in the U.K. Issue #5 includes opinions on current controversies over the direction of EFL, "Malthus was wrong" by Greg Gordon, "Deep ecology, animal rights and Native people" by Don Smith & Mike Roselle, and an insert on the Mount Graham struggle in Arizona, along with many other articles on environmental conflicts. Always recommended. Subscriptions are \$20/year (8 issues).

GAUNTLET #5/1993 (Barry Hoffman, 309 Powell Rd., Springfield, PA. 19064) is a huge 192pp. annual anti-censorship journal. This issue on the theme of "Porn in the USA" features

KATÚAH JOURNAL

ISSUE 38 SPRING '93

\$2.00



SUSTAINABLE TOURING

KATÚAH JOURNAL #38/Spring '93 (Rt.8, Box 323, Lenoir, NC. Katúah Province 28645) is the last full 36pp. issue of this bioregional tabloid covering the Katúah region of Appalachia. As one of the best of the bioregional publications, this journal will surely be missed by many readers. The Spring issue focusses on "Sustainable Touring," with articles like "Toward sustainable tourism in Southern Appalachia"

Cambridge, MA. 02142) is a valuable 32pp. compilation of articles (largely taken from the North American liberal/radical leftist student press) intended for reprinting by member periodicals. Issue #8 contains pieces on struggles at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and a view of a Mexican perspective on NAFTA. Issue #9 features an in-depth look at "Education for the New World Order" (including the National Security Education Act funding \$150 million worth of "security"). Issue #10 includes a long dialogue between NLNS and member periodicals over the direction of the project. Packets are \$5/issue.

Challenge Vol.4, #2/Mar.-April '93 (POB 14338, Tel Aviv 61142, Israel) is a 42pp. "Magazine of the Israeli Left," written "by Arabs & Jews" (also published in a Hebrew-language version titled *Etgar*). This issue features Neve Gordon & Rela Mazali on "The vicious circle of torture," and Michal Schwartz's "Paved with bad intentions" (on road development plans cutting through "the last remaining lands of many Palestinian towns in Israel"). Subscriptions are \$30/year (6 issues).

Permaculture Activist #27/Aug.'92 (Route 1, Box 38, Primm Springs, TN. 38476) is the 52pp. "Quarterly Voice for Permanent Culture in North America," featuring John Mohawk on "Deconstructing utopia," an interview with Patricia DuBoise on "Grassroots organizing" in El Salvador, and Jerome Osentowski on "Third World linkages: Planting the seeds of Permaculture." Subscriptions are \$16/year.

off our backs Vol.23, #3/Mar., #4/April & #5/May '93 (2423 18th St. NW, Washington, DC. 20009) is a 24pp. feminist news tabloid. Issue #3 covers the explosive growth of pornography in Russia and the situation of feminists in Belgrade during the current crisis. Issue #4 includes extensive coverage of a University of Chicago Law School "Conference on Speech, Equality, and Harm." Issue #5 features lots of riot grrrr coverage, and a special "War Pull-Out" section titled "Serbia's war against Bosnia and Croatia." An essential magazine on the feminist movements. Subscriptions are \$19/year (11 issues).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS:

Seattle Community Catalyst Vol.3, #11/Mar. & #12/April '93 (5031 University Way NE, Rm.2, Seattle, WA. 98105) is a 16pp. eco-peace-community tabloid. Issue #11 features Lansing Scott's "Getting ready for cultural war" (on new anti-gay campaigns by the Christian right in the U.S. northwest). Issue #12 features "Alternatives to autogeddon" by Michael Skehan. Subscriptions are \$15/year (12 issues).

Changing Men #25/Winter-Spring '93 (306 N. Brooks St., Madison, WI. 53715) is a very disappointing 72pp. "pro-feminist" men's movement magazine, subtitled "Issues in Gender, Sex and Politics." In this issue the editors totally cave in to the threats of boycott and anathema pronounced by Nikki

Craft in her recent, censorious off our backs article titled "So much slime, so little time," going so far as to reprint the article complete with an abject confession from the editors renouncing their imagined sins. The lack of integrity shown here is neck deep, featuring Craft's implicit death threat against NAMBLA members and her explicit and eager admission of police collaboration in attempting to silence *Uncommon Desires*. Hold your breath if you want to send \$6 for a sample copy of this miserable mag.

Uncommon Desires Newsletter #10/Feb.-Mar.'93 (Postbus 408, 1000AK, Amsterdam, Netherlands) is a very well-done, 16pp. zine "about girl-love, erotic desires, censorship, and the police state." Subscriptions are now \$20/year cash or undesignated check.

EcoSocialist Review Vol.7, #1/-Spring '93 (Chicago DSA, 1608 N. Milwaukee, 4th floor, Chicago, IL. 60647) is the 28pp. ecology zine of the social-democratic Democratic Socialists of America. This issue includes an (unintentionally) humorous Marxist analysis of "Ecofeminism and animal rights, Part 2: The animal industrial complex" (!) by Carol Adams and a review of Conrad Smith's *Media and Apocalypse* by Dorothee Benz. Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues?).

Southern Libertarian Messenger Vol.21, #8/Dec.'92 thru #10/Feb.'93 (Rt.10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) is a 6-8pp. photocopied, right-wing 'libertarian' news-clipping collection. Issue #8 includes a 'special' 8pp. addendum featuring Robert Brakeman's interesting story "When the punks struck." Issue #10 includes a 2-page addendum of Antony Flew's leaflet "Against 'Anti-Racism' in Education." Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues).



Bleeding Eyesore #4/undated (Paul Harrison, 1 Prince William Ct., Featherstone, West Yorkshire WF7 5PH, England) is a 30pp. zine featuring reprints in microscopic print of Mark Heley's naive paean to virtual reality titled "Neuro space...", and interviews with Terence McKenna on psychedelics, sex and extraterrestrials. Send a

contribution for a copy.

Turning The Tide Vol.6, #2/Mar.-April '93 (POB 1990, Burbank, CA. 91507) is a 12pp. tabloid "Anti-Racism Newsletter" published by People Against Racist Terror, featuring articles on the relationships between racism and ecological struggles this time around. Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

Dreamtime Talkingmail #3/Spring '93 (Rt.2, Box 242W, Viola, WI. 54464) is a 30pp. newsletter documenting the "embryonic beginnings of a permaculture hypermedia village in southwest Wisconsin" on donated land, complete with a big old school building, fire truck & bookmobile! The founders are looking for more warm bodies to populate the place. Subscriptions are \$12/3 issues; sample copies are \$4.

Synthesis/Regeneration #6/Spring '93 (WD Press, POB 24115, St. Louis, MO. 63130) is the 48pp. "theoretical discussion bulletin of the Greens/Green Party USA." This issue focusses on a theme of "Free Trade vs. Visions of a Green Society" with numerous short articles developing various reformist to revolutionary perspectives on resistance to NAFTA and GATT. Subscriptions are \$12/year (4 issues).

The Portland Alliance Vol.13, #4/April & #5/May '93 (2807 SE Stark, Portland, OR. 97214) is a 16pp. "Progressive Community News" monthly tabloid. Issue #4 includes a reprint (from the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*) of Judi Bari's "The truth about tree spiking: Part 1-Horrible costs." Subscriptions are \$20/year.

Campus: America's Student Newspaper Vol.4, #3/Spring '93 (I.S.I., 14 S. Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, PA. 19010-3275) is a professionally produced 24pp. right-wing tabloid that bills itself as "the only national student-edited, student-written newspaper for college students." This issue focusses on critiques of campus PC (of the leftist variety, never the more prevalent right-wing sort), multiculturalism, sexuality and feminism, from an underlying white, Christian, Euro-supremacist ideological perspective. Subscriptions are free with (free) I.S.I. membership or \$10/4 issues for non-members.

NAMBLA Bulletin Vol.14, #3/April '93 (POB 174, Midtown Sta., New York, NY. 10018) is the 24pp. newsletter of the North American Man/Boy Love Association. This issue includes a report on the invasion of a New York NAMBLA chapter meeting by a witch-hunting NBC Television News crew, and fiction titled "Something Like Happiness" by Kevin Esser. Subscriptions are \$30/year (10 issues) for non-members, or included with membership at \$25/year.

MediaCulture Review Vol.2, #1/Mar. & #2/April-May '93 (100 East 85 St., New York, NY. 10028) is a newsletter published by the Institute for Alternative Journalism. (The IAJ also maintains an on-line computer wire service

carrying articles "from the independent and alternative press.") Issue #1 covers governmental communications policy questions, and includes "Ten censored stories-1992" compiled by Project Censored. Issue #2 includes an analysis of "The Information ghetto" (on those left behind in the consumer technological race). Subscriptions are \$24/year (6 issues).

karma lapel



kill the cop in your head first

Karma Lapel #4/undated (POB 5467, Evanston, IL. 60204-5267) is a very readable 14pp. review zine, though the editor is planning to print more non-review material in the future. This issue's cover-line urges readers to "Kill the cop in your head first," and its contents focus on zine reviews, with comic and music reviews as well. Sample copies are \$1 or trade.

Dialogue #96/Spring '93 (POB 71221, New Orleans, LA. 70172) is a 20pp. "Progressive Community Journal" focussing on local news. This issue's cover story is "Liberty or bigotry?" It covers the controversial rededication of the so-called "Liberty Monument" in New Orleans (popularly known as the White Supremacy Monument). Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

The Fire Fly #19/Feb.'93 (Box 1077, Mission, SD. 57555) is a homey, yet incisively critical little 8pp. newsletter from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, appropriately subtitled "A tiny glow in a forest of darkness." This issue includes a first person account titled "You're in South Dakota now" by Jon Lurie, and "Other realities as truth: Permitting cultural diversity in the schools" by Jon Lurie and Jane Kirby. Always a good read. Subscriptions are \$5.00/6 issues.

Celtic Pamplemousse #5/undated (Jim Munroe, 66 Greyhound Dr., Willowdale, Ontario M2H 1K3, Canada) is an unpaginated zine. This issue includes an amusing look at "Star Trek: (Brainwashing) The Next Generation." Sample copies are \$1 postpaid.

The Thistle Vol.7, #1/Feb.3, & #3/Mar.3, thru #8/April 14, '93 (M.I.T. W20-

Alternative Media Review

450, 84 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139) is a 12 to 20pp., weekly student-left tabloid 'working to humanize MIT'. The April 7 issue is a special retitled *Thistle Profemina* and including pieces on "Naming rapists" by Mary Baxter, "Menstruation" by Emily Yeh, and an accusation that the Socialist Workers Party has perpetrated a "Racist frame-up" in its defense campaign for Mark Curtis. No subscription price given.

The Freedom Writer Vol.10,#2/Mar.-April '93 (POB 589, Great Barrington, MA 01230) is an informative 4pp. bimonthly newsletter covering activities of the Christian right. This issue includes an alarming analysis of "The anti-gay nineties" by Frederick Clarkson. Subscriptions are included with a \$25/year membership in the Institute for First Amendment Studies.

Prison Legal News Vol.4,#2/Feb. '93 (POB 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460) is a helpful 10pp. newsletter for prisoners focussing on the state of Washington. This issue includes good articles on "Serial litigators" by Adrian Lomax, and "The prison privatization debate" by Ed Mead. Send a contribution for a copy.

PANIC!



Panic! #1/undated (c/o Dave Wells, Conari Press, 1144 65th St. Suite B, Emeryville, CA 94608) is an attractive, unpaginated zine opening with a quote from Lautréamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror*, including a rant titled "Stick this on your bumper!" ("Is putting your ideology on your bumper another case of sticking your head up your ass?"), drawings by Andrew Singer, and a piece on cities as the commodification of space titled "When there is no there." Send \$3.50 for a sample copy.

Blue Ryder #29/May-June '93 (POB 587, Olean, NY 14760) is a 16pp. tabloid now calling itself "The Best of the Underground." This issue includes a good piece on "Forfeitures and seizures: Legalized theft" (on drug war property seizures) by Dennis Cauchon (reprinted from *Urine Nation News*). Subscriptions are \$8/year (6 issues).

LUNO unnumbered/Mar. & April '93 (31960 SE Chin St., Boring, OR 97009)

is a 10pp. newsletter of the Learning Unlimited Network of Oregon. The March issue includes some commentary on computers and technology, including a great 'computer' schematic-shown as a toilet with various parts well-labelled! The April issue includes "Devil dealing in education" (on the demonization of enemies). Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Gray Areas #1/Fall '92 (POB 808, Broomall, PA 19008-0808) is a brand new magazine "Examining the Gray Areas of Life" like pornography, concert taping, search-and-seizure laws, etc., along with recurrent references to the Grateful Dead. Well done, including a 10 page listing of "Unreleased/unauthorized" Dead videos, along with a variety of concert, video, book, software and zine reviews, and an interview with former porn star Kay Parker-now a spiritualist/channeler! Sample \$4.50; subscriptions are \$18/4 issues.

The Madison Edge Vol.4,#7/Feb. 24, thru #11/April 21,'93 (POB 845, Madison, WI 53701-0845) is a good 8pp. alternative community biweekly tabloid. Issue #7 includes Tod Ensign's "Gulf War syndrome: Chronic health ailments plague Gulf War veterans," and Raymond Luc Levasseur's "Pardon my analysis" (on the pardons of Republican regime war criminals by Bush). Subscriptions are \$15/year.

Beatnik Soup #6/Spring '93 (2306 College Ave., Stevens Point, WI 54481) unpaginated "Art and Literary Magazine for a New Generation"-primarily a poetry-zine, complete with pop-up art and a rainbow of page colors. Sample copies are \$1 cash or money order.

Funny Pages #42/April '93 (POB 317025, Dayton, OH 45437) 12pp. zine of occasionally funny, (mostly) disgusting humor aimed at celebrities, politics, gender, race, sexual orientations, etc. Office jokesters with poor taste will love this zine; others might have second thoughts. Subscriptions are \$10/8 issues.

Still Angry #12/Spring '93 (102A E. 52nd St., Austin, TX 78751) is a thick, unpaginated in-your-face angry zine, surprisingly well-produced with a homo-vegan-straightedge twist. This issue features material on the Church of Satan, (against) human sacrifice, band interviews with Neurosis and Andromeda Strain, some furious rants by Claire Richards, and a lot more short pieces of intense, graphic anger. Copies are \$1.29.

The American Rationalist Vol.37,#6/Mar.-April & Vol.38,#1/May-June '93 (POB 994, St. Louis, MO 63188) is a 16pp. bimonthly subtitled "The alternative to religious superstition." Issue #1 includes Kenneth Weinstein on "Pierre Bayle and the atheist state," and C. Lee Hubbell's "God-confused physicists," along with book reviews and other short pieces. Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

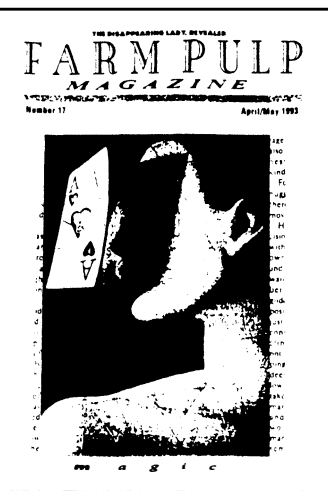
Industrial Worker #1557/Mar., #1558/April & #1559/May '93 (1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco, CA

94103) 12-16pp. union newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World. The April and May issues include a little humor with *Wage Slave World News* inserts. Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Retrofuturism #17/April '93 (The Drawing Legion, POB 227, Iowa City, IA 52244) is a "sporadically-appearing" 24pp. "Hypermedia," fringe-art periodical. This issue includes Stephen-Paul Martin on "Media countermedia: Gleem & Ultra-Brite," and Ed Lawrence's review of Bob Black's *Friendly Fire*. Subscriptions are \$10/year (including all Drawing Legion publications).

The Other Israel #56/April '93 (I.C.I.P.P., POB 2542, Holon 58125, Israel) is the 12pp. newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. This issue covers the criminal deportation of 415 Palestinians by the Israeli state, and the ensuing protests. Recommended. Subscriptions are \$30/year (6 issues).

Gneurosis #2/undated (BM Indefinite, London WC1N 3XX, England) 60pp. spiritually-inclined "Magazine of the Out of Order Order," including a long-at times interesting-commentary on titled "The art of anarchic artha: A look at the void via Alan Watts," along with various comix, manifestos and rants. Send £2.50 for a copy (checks to "PD Condon" only).



Farm Pulp Magazine #16/Jan.-Feb. & #17/April-May '93 (217 NW 70th St., Seattle, WA 98117) is a nicely done, graphically lively, 24pp. photocopied literary zine of bizarre fiction. My favorite story from issue #17 is the hilarious "The Summer Floors: Notes from an office survivalist" (from the story: "I eat simply as well. Non-dairy creamer is the basic staple I prepare most of my foods with....")! Sample copies are \$1 cash & two 29¢ stamps.

Zen Wind #14/undated (Tundra Wind, POB 429, Monte Rio, CA 95462) unbound, unpaginated, irregular magazine of a "non-monastic and non-residential spiritual order in the tradition of the zen masters of China, Korea and Japan." This issue includes "The trans-

formations of Tung Shan" (a commentary on an obscure quote relating to the *I Ching*), and "Zenarchy-A diary." Subscriptions are available on request; donations or trades requested.

CVS Bulletin #1/Feb.'93 (The Drawing Legion, POB 227, Iowa City, IA 52244) 24pp. zine of the Copyright Violation Squad dedicated to making "publicly available those cultural works which have been suppressed because they theoretically violated copyright law." This first issue includes Luke McGuff on "Parallel culture." Subscriptions are \$10/200 pages (including all Drawing Legion publications).

Rotund World #1/undated (Blind Box Q, 1336 SE Marion St., Portland, OR 97202) 20pp. tabloid successor to the slick literary magazine, *Mississippi Mud*. This first issue of *RW* includes some interesting writing, including fiction like David Duncan's "The Epistemology of the Orgasm." If you enjoy reading, take a look. Free; send a something to cover the postage.

Maximum RocknRoll #118/Mar.'93 (POB 288, Berkeley, CA 94701) is a huge unpaginated punkzine that continues to pack in page after page of letters, columns, articles, interviews, scene reports, and sound & zine reviews. This issue features an interview with graffiti artist Devon Morf, including a shitload of photos. Check it out. Sample copies are \$2.50; subscriptions are \$15/6 issues.

Liberty Vol.6,#5/June '93 (POB 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368) is an 80pp., right-wing 'libertarian' magazine advocating "free market" economics. This issue includes some Clinton-bashing and commentary on the government's massacre of Davidians in Waco, along with a valuable reprinting of lectures by Albert Jay Nock under the title "Understanding the state." Subscriptions are \$19.50/year (6 issues).

Paranoia #1/undated (POB 3570, Cranston, RI 02910) is a new 24pp. "Readers Digest for Hip Paranoids." This first issue includes material on all the hot conspiracy topics from Malcolm X to Hitler and Nixon. Subscriptions are \$12/year (4 issues).

Green Revolution #3/Autumn '92 (POB 845, Bristol BS99 5HQ, England) is a 16pp. "revolutionary newspaper working for ecological survival, human liberation and direct action." The cover story is "Women and Revolution," including an interview with Janet Blehl, and a piece on "Women and anarchism." Subscriptions are £4/10 issues.

The Moorish Science Monitor unnumbered/Oct.'92 (James Koehnline, POB 85777, Seattle, WA 98145-1777) unpaginated zine featuring Elizabeth Was & Miekal And's "Sustaining the hyperkulture: Toward an ecology of information," and the "Manifesto of the Black Thorn League." Copies are \$3.

Progressive Librarian #4/Winter '91-2 (c/o Empire State College, SUNY School of Labor Studies Library, 330 West 42nd St., 4th Floor, New York,

NY. 10036) is the 52pp. journal of the leftist Progressive Librarians Guild, featuring David Linton's "The pro-machine bias: The fate of the Luddites," and a survey on library purchases of "Politically controversial monographs" by Charles Willett. Subscriptions are included with membership in PLG at \$5-15/year (depending upon income).

Great Expeditions #72/Fall '92 (POB 18036, Raleigh, NC. 27619) is a slick, full-color 56pp. magazine of "socially-responsible travel," covering topics like family trip to Venezuela on horseback and bicycling in Siberia and Ball! Subscriptions are \$18/year.

Undercurrents #4/Spring '92 (c/o Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, 4700 Keele St., North York, Ontario M3J 1P3, Canada) impressive 58pp. "Journal of Critical Environmental Studies," featuring "Toward a theory of the body in critical social change" by Karen Birkemeyer, and "When the eye cannot see: Rethinking night" by Andrew Satterthwaite. Copies are \$5.

Arm The Spirit #14-15/Aug.-Dec.'92 [double issue] (c/o Wild Seed Press, POB 57584, Jackson Stn., Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3, Canada) is a 36pp. "Autonomist/Anti-Imperialist Journal." This double issue includes international coverage from Kurdistan to Vermont, with a lot of attention to the RAF in Germany. Subscriptions are \$10/6 issues.

I Am #6/undated (Chuck, c/o Moofster, 28 Randolph St., Boston, MA 02118) is a thick 70pp. "publication for hope," covering intergenerational man/dude-love sexual issues from a personal perspective with articles, comics, letters and graphics. Copies are \$6.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ALSO RECEIVED:

The Freedom Writer Vol.10, #1/-Jan.-Feb.'93 (Institute for First Amendment Studies, POB 589, Great Barrington, MA 01230) 4pp. newsletter reporting on the activities of the Christian right, especially Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. Subscriptions are included with membership in IFAS at \$25/year.

The Gateway Greens' Compost-Dispatch Vol.4 #3/Mar., #4/April & #5/May '93 (Gateway Green Alliance, POB 8094, St. Louis, MO. 63156) 8pp. local/regional environmental newsletter. Subscriptions are included with membership in GGA at \$25/year (12 issues).

Anuskids #2/undated (Wavy Davy, 207 Wren St., Clemson, SC. 29631) unpaginated, photocopied zine "looking for anything remotely grotesque and absurd." No price listed.

Rx #1/Nov.'92 & #3/Mar.'93 (DSM Reform Initiative, POB 1562, Albany, NY. 12201) 8-pp. newsletter encouraging the elimination of marijuana and hallucinogen use as categories of mental illness in the psychiatric 'Bible', DSM. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Subconscious Soup Vol.2, #4/Winter '92 (POB 421272, Kissimmee, FL. 34742) very well-produced 42pp. pro-hemp, "Magazine of Free Thought and Counter Cultures." Send \$2 + two 29¢ stamps for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$10/year.

Alternative Press Index Vol.24, #4/-Oct.-Dec.'92 (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) 108pp. quarterly, library-style index to a wide range of alternative and radical periodicals—including anarchic publications like *Fifth Estate*, *Kick It Over, Our Generation*, and *Social Anarchism*, as well as *Anarchy*. Subscriptions are \$30/year (4 issues) for individuals & movement groups.

Small Press Review #242/Mar., #243/April & #244/May '93 (POB 100, Paradise, CA. 95967) 16pp. review of small press poetry and fiction. Subscriptions are \$20/year (12 issues).

Washington Report Vol.14, #4/April & #5/May '93 (Editors Release Service, POB 10309, St. Petersburg, FL. 33733) 4pp. news shorts on Washington "greed, corruption, self-indulgence." Subscriptions are \$25/year (? issues).

MSRRT Newsletter Vol.6, #3/April & #4/May '93 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) 16pp. 'socially-responsible' librarians' newsletter. Send a 52¢ SASE for a sample.

Reclaiming Newsletter #50/Spring '93 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) 36pp. pagan newsletter "working to unify spirit and politics." Subscriptions are \$6-\$25/year (4 issues).

Yello Submarine Zine #X-II/undated (422 Linden Pl., Elmira, NY. 14901) unpaginated zine of comics & reprints. Sample copies are \$1.50.

Nukewatch Pathfinder unnumbered/Spring '93 (The Progressive Foundation, POB 2658, Madison, WI. 53701-2658) 4pp. 'nonviolent' anti-nuke tabloid. Send an SASE.

Angry People unnumbered/undated (Box 183, Waterloo, NSW 2017, Australia) 12pp. working-class, bash-the-rich zine. Cover price is \$1.

Campus Review Vol.9, #2/Mar., #3/April & #4/May '93 (336 S. Clinton, Suite 16, Iowa City, IA. 52240) 16pp. homophobic and generally authoritarian, conservative student tabloid. Subscriptions are \$5/year (? issues).

Direct Confrontation [unnumbered]/Oct.-Dec.'92 & Jan.-Feb.'93 (Constitutional Revival, Box 3182 Enfield, CT. 06083) 8pp. right-wing, anti-IRS, "minimal government" newsletter focusing on the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Subscriptions are \$12/year (6 issues).

Pagans for Peace #59/Mar.'93 A.D.A. (POB 2205, Clearbrook, B.C. V2T 3X8, Canada) 10pp. newsletter for socially-activist pagans. Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

Bike Pride #2/undated (c/o New Media Club, UWM Box 122, POB 413, Milwaukee, WI. 53201) odd-sized, 28pp.

mountain bike zine with a angry twist, interesting commentary and anti-auto fantasies. Cover price is 50¢.

The Nuclear Resister #88/April '93 (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) 8pp. anti-nuclear, civil resistance tabloid. Subscriptions are \$18/year (8 issues?).

Psychedelic Prisoners Newsletter #2/undated (107 Tall Trees Ct., Fankfort, KY. 40601) 18pp. newsletter "by and for prisoners incarcerated for violation of psychedelic drug prohibition laws." Send a "donations of stamps or cash" for a copy.

Artpaper Vol.12, #7/Mar., #8/April & #9/May '93 (2402 University Ave. W. #206, St. Paul, MN. 55114) 32pp. tabloid subtitled "Art/Community/Cultural Activism." Subscriptions are \$20/year (10 issues).

New Unionist #188/Mar.'93 (New Union Party, 621 West Lake St. Suite 210, Minneapolis, MN. 55408) 4pp. tabloid aiming to get workers "to unite in one rank-and-file controlled union." Subscriptions are \$5/year (12 issues).

Third World Resources Vol.9, #2/April-June '93 (Data Center, 464 19th St., Oakland, CA. 94612) 24pp. informative "quarterly review of resources from & about the Third World." Subscriptions are \$35/2 years.

Factsheet 5 Vol.2, #4/Mar. & #5/April '93 (Andrew Roller, 5960 S. Land Park Dr., Suite 253, Sacramento, CA. 95822) 12pp. review zine. Don't be mistaken, this is not the *Factsheet 5*, just a quick & cheap knockoff. Sample copies are \$1 + age statement required.



Twisted Image #46/Mar. & #47/April '93 (1630 University Ave. Apt.26, Berkeley, CA. 94703) always amusing 10pp. comics zine published by Ace Backwords. Sample copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$20/year (12 issues).

Grind #3/undated (25791 Parada Dr., Valencia, CA. 91355-2415) unpaginated vegetarian-punkzine. Copies \$3.

On Indian Land unnumbered/Spring '93 (POB 2104, Seattle, WA. 98101) is a 12pp. tabloid subtitled "Support for Native Sovereignty," cover-

ing all the major Native American struggles. Subscriptions are \$8/4 issues.

The Outlander Vol.2, #1/Feb. & #2(?) /April '93 (POB 585, Mountlake Terrace, WA. 98043-0585) 8-12pp. prisoners' zine. Send a donation for a sample copy.

Pelican Bay Prison Express #3/undated (2489 Mission St. #28, San Francisco, CA. 94110) 16pp. prisoner support/human rights newsletter. Subscriptions are \$10/? issues.

The Alternative Orange Vol.2, #4/Mar., #5/April & #6/May '93 (126T Schine Center, Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, NY. 13244) 12-24pp. well-produced "Alternative Student Newspaper." Subscriptions are \$20/year (8 issues).

Meshuggah #7/Mar.'93 (Fehl Press, 147 Second Ave. #603, New York, NY. 10003) 16pp. entertaining "Journal of Oddball Fiction and Subversive Thought." Sample \$1.50; subscriptions are \$6/4 issues (checks to Fehl!).

The Gels Letter #13/Mar. & #14/April '93 (POB 11408, Portland, OR. 97211) 8pp. provocative personal zine of "Thought crime, Dogmaclade, and Intellectual Heresy" from the former publisher of *Science Fiction Review*. Copies are \$1/issue.

We Are The Weird Vol.9, #10/May 17, '93 (POB 2002, Dallas, TX. 75221) 16pp. occasionally hilarious zine billed as "America's only weekly fanzine" of weird movies and drive-ins. Sample copy free; subscriptions are \$65/year (26 issues).

Kaspahrazer #6/April '93 (POB 8831, Portland, OR. 97207) attractive 32pp. zine of poetry, comment, computer mail, dreams and graphics. Send \$2 cash for a sample.

Rethinking Schools Vol.7, #3/Spring '93 (1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI. 53212) 32pp. liberal school-reform tabloid subtitled "An Urban Education Journal." Subscriptions are \$12.50/year (4 issues).

Shelf Life #1/undated (1631 Santa Rosa Ave., Santa Barbara, CA. 93109) is the ambitious 52pp. first issue of this personal/punk zine, which includes accounts of "What we did on our summer vacation," and of the "1992 Anarchist Gathering in Long Beach, California." Send \$1 for a copy.

The Orlando Spectator Vol.4, #4/Spring '93 (2390 S. Orange Blossom Trail, Apopka, FL. 32703-1870) 29pp. alternative community tabloid quarterly with an anti-censorship, anti-authoritarian bent. Sample copies are \$1; subscriptions are \$10/12 issues.

Subterranean Vol.3, #1/undated (POB 57183, Lincoln, NE. 68505) 13pp. zine with very small print that aims to be "an open forum for your thoughts and opinions." Send \$2 for a copy.

Ain't Life Grand unnumbered/undated (Resistance Productions, POB 426, 8026 Zürich, Switzerland) 5pp. zine with extremely small print. Send a donation for a copy.

Alternative Media Review

Siam #2/Nov.-Dec.'92 (POB 22861, Alexandria, VA. 22304) unpaginated punk-zine with loads of zine and music reviews. Copies are \$2 postpaid.

Let's Gibber #3/undated (Ziggurat, POB 25193, Rochester, NY. 14625) 12pp. zine of ravings by Thom Metzger, subtitled "The Official Organ of Ziggurat." Send \$1 for a sample copy.

Touchpoint Vol.6, #2/April '93 (POB 408, Chloride, AZ. 86431) is a 10pp. non-monogamous contact service newsletter. Single issues are \$4.

Aero-Gramme #10/Spring '93 (417 Roslyn Rd., Roslyn Heights, NY. 11577) 20pp. "Alternative Education Resource Organization Newsletter." Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues?).

Loving More #34/Spring & #35/Summer '92 (PEP, POB 6306, Captain Cook, HI. 96704-6306) 16pp. polyfidelity newsletter subtitled "A group marriage journal & network." Subscriptions are \$25/year (4 issues).

New Hampshire Gazette Vol.237, #20/Feb. thru #22/April '93 (37 Skunk Farm Road, Hillsborough, NH. 03244) 4pp. old-style newspaper billed as "The Nation's Oldest Newspaper." Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Any Time Now Vol.2, #4/Spring '93 (Affinity Place, Argenta, B.C. V0G 1B0, Canada) 12pp. zine focussing on libertarian and socialist themes. Subscriptions are \$4/year (4 issues).

Butcher Shop #1/undated (2117 Lyndale Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN. 55405) unpaginated zine "For Radicals Only." Sample copies are \$1.

The Intercollegiate Review Vol.28, #2/Spring '93 (14 S. Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, PA. 19010-3275) 56pp. right-wing "Journal of Scholarship and Opinion." Cover price is \$3.

Sipapu Vol.22, #2/undated (Noel Peattie, 23311 County Rd. 88, Winters, CA. 95694) 24pp. "newsletter for librarians, collectors, and others interested in the alternative press." Samples \$4.

Abapa Freer unnumbered/undated sampler/ Issue (Pat Underhill, POB 759, Veneta, OR. 97487) is a small-format, 18pp. "aberrant assured publication arrangement" publication on freer places to live published in microscopic print. Samples are \$1 cash.

Northern Sun News Vol.15, #3/Spring '93 (2129 Riverside Ave. #A, Minneapolis, MN. 55454-1340) 16pp. tabloid subtitled "Alternatives In Energy, Politics and Culture." Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).

Prison News Service #39/Jan.-Feb. '93 (POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4) 12pp. tabloid covering North American prison issues. Cover price is \$1.50; suggested subscription rate is \$10/year (6 issues).

Jabiru Tribe #7/April '93 (POB 3648, Corpus Christi, TX. 78463-3648) 4pp. "alternative paper in your town and up your street." Send an SASE for a sample.

Ideological Commentary #59/Feb. '93 (15 Calabria Rd., London N5 1JB, England) is a 28pp. periodical pushing editor George Walford's ideology of Systematic Ideology. Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

Science for Democratic Action Vol.2, #1/Winter & #2/Spring '93 (Institute for Energy and Environmental Research, 6935 Laurel Ave., Takoma Park, MD. 20912) 16pp. newsletter critical of the nuclear power/weapons establishment. Subscriptions are \$6/year (3 issues).

Arise! #9/Spring '93 (2117 Lyndale Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN. 55405) 12pp. tabloid of the Arise! collective and Arise! Newspaper, Bookstore & Resource Center covering ecological and anti-imperialist issues. Send a couple stamps for a sample copy.

ObscurePublications #21/undated (no address) 8pp. short, but interesting review zine. Subscriptions are \$6/3 issues if only there was an address.

Utne Reader #57/May-June '93 (Box 1974, Marion, OH. 43305) 152pp. **Readers' Digest** of the left-liberals. Subscriptions are \$18/year (6 issues).

In-Queeries #4/undated (POB 1074, Suite 130, Northridge, CA. 91328) thick, energetic, unpaginated queer student zine. Subscriptions are \$10/academic year (? issues).

Hel's Kitchen #1/Spring '93 (POB 85541, Seattle, WA. 98145) 20pp. zine with a visual orientation including art & comix. Single copies are \$2.50.

Queer Zine Explosion #7/Feb. '93 (Larry-Bob, Box 591275, SF., CA. 94159-1275) 8pp. of queer and related zine reviews! Send two 29¢ stamps for a copy.

Yawn #38/Mar.'93 (POB 227, Iowa City, IA. 52244) 24pp. "Critique of Cul-

ture" covering the "art strike." Subscriptions are \$10/200 pages of Drawing Legion periodicals.

Canary Flu #2/Feb.'93 (366 Wilson St., Amherst, WI. 54406) unpaginated, hand-lettered/drawn zine of poetry and art. Send a 52¢ SASE for a sample.

lexiste! #1/undated (6323 Cherrywood, Portage, MI. 49002) unpaginated DIY/review zine. Copies are 75¢.

Riot Geek! #1/undated (POB 581354, Mpls., MN. 55458-1354) 30pp. anti-sexist gender role/men's consciousness zine. Send a 53¢ SASE for a sample copy.

ApaEros #43/Nov.'92 (John & Kathe Burt, 960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, OR. 97333) 32pp. "unedited reader-written forum about sex, erotica and relationships of all kinds: het, lesbian, gay, bi." Always recommended. Subscriptions are \$2/issue, but you must also send an age statement (that you are over 18).

Damn Nation #2/Oct.'92 (Dave Schulz, POB 118, Conway, SC. 29526) 26pp. anti-statist, individualist, laissez-faire zine. Copies are \$1 postpaid.

A.M. #2 & #3/undated (Tumor Pubs, POB 531, Villa Park, IL. 60181) unpaginated comix zine with sometimes obscure humor. Send a 52¢ SASE for a copy.

The Village Idiot #18/Jan.-April '93 (POB 66, Harrison, ID. 83833-0066) an unpretentious and readable 48pp. literary journal. Sample copies \$3; subscriptions are \$7.50/3 issues.

Continued on page 21...

Heidegger's nazism

Review by John Zerzan

On Heidegger's Nazism and Philosophy by Tom Rockmore (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA., 1992) 382pp. \$35.00 hardcover.

Shortly after the death of leading deconstruction theorist Paul de Man in 1983, it was discovered that as a young man in occupied Belgium he wrote several anti-Semitic and pro-nazi newspaper commentaries. This shocking news not only tended to call deconstruction itself into question but its wider post-structuralist/postmodern orientation as well. De Man, deconstruction, and post-structuralism in general have all been decisively influenced by Heidegger, and this in turn has helped resurrect controversy concerning the latter's affiliation with German National Socialism.

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is thought of by many as this century's most original and profound philosopher. In 1933 as a university Rector he declared his adherence to the Nazi Party. Though this formal allegiance was short-lived, Heidegger never denounced Nazism as an ideal; in fact, more than once he defended its present and future potential, in slight distinction to the actual record of Hitlerism.

There is today a mini-industry of books and articles on the Heidegger (and de Man) ques-

tion, which is, at base, what is the nature of the connection between a thinker's ideas and his/her life choices?

Rockmore argues that Heidegger's political decisions were the direct outcome of his existential thought, grounded as it was in a nationalist perspective. He provides, albeit in a rather over-written, repetitive style, a very adequate general treatment of Heidegger's philosophy and convincingly demonstrates, I believe, that Heidegger's nazism was no mere contingency or accident.

Rockmore also reviews all the literature generated by this issue, which reveals, among other things, how resistant the largely French post-structuralist school has been to admitting a link between Heidegger's ideas and his horrendous political positions. It is worth repeating that post-structuralism, philosophical foundation of postmodern culture, is nothing if not Heideggerian.

Perhaps even more importantly, Rockmore raises the question of the validity or relevance of philosophy itself, given its embeddedness in advanced specialization. His question prompted me to note how little independent philosophers seem to be from the political climate they inhabit. Consider a few top 'stars' of philosophy: besides Heidegger reflecting the prevalent Nazi politics, more recently we have Habermas, whose sterile technical rationalism is very congruent with German techno-capitalist-

liberalism; Derrida, whose rhetorical flourishes and lack of content mesh with a French political scene long on verbiage but devoid of movement; and, in the U.S., Richard Rorty, whose conservative pragmatism found prominence along with Reaganist retrenchment.



Drawing from Exegesis (Athens, Greece).

Alternative press books

Short reviews by T. Otter, Joseph Average & J. McQuinn

Good Sex

Good Sex by Julia Hutton (Cleis Press, POB 8933, Pittsburgh, PA. 15221 & POB 14684, San Francisco, CA. 94114, 1992) 222pp. \$13.00 paper.

Is it needless to say I got off on reading this book? And it even has a "Safer Sex Guidelines" appendix. "Haven't you always wanted to have dozens of people—thoughtful people of varied and distilled experience—get down to basics and just tell you how they perceive their own sexual histories? Gratefully, here they are." (back cover comment by Eve Kosofsky)

Julia Hutton conducted over 80 in-depth, explicit interviews with people, ages 17-73, who view sex as a powerful, positive factor in their lives. Chapters include "Desire," "Fe/Male Trouble," "Sexual Healing," and "Ecstatic Outlaws." *Good Sex* is a "fistful of polaroids" of sex in the '90s. -T.O.

Anarchy and history?

Anarchy and the End of History edited by M. Gunderloy & M. Ziesing (Factsheet Five/Lysander Spooner Society, POB 433, Willimantic, CT. 06226, 1991) 144pp. \$9.00 paper.

"Anarchy may not, as we are all fond of insisting, be chaos, but the anarchist movement and anarchist theory in this country are certainly in a chaotic disarray right now."

—Mike Gunderloy, Introduction

Because modern anarchism can trace its awakening to the Enlightenment, that period when issues of liberty, freedom, equality, and community became central to vigorous, self-conscious political discussion and action, it seems inevitable that it would have blossomed into a complex array of perspectives and practices.

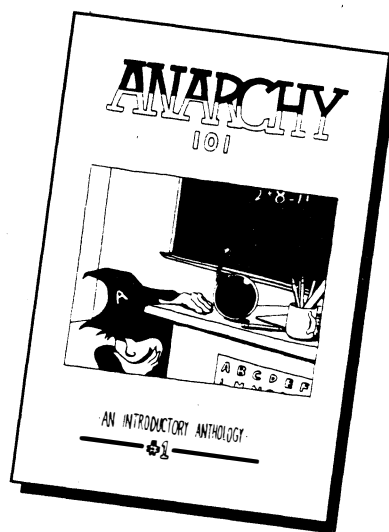
Editors Gunderloy (formerly of *Factsheet Five*) and Ziesing (*Instead of A Magazine*) address this multiplicity through a collection of essays by various voices within and around the anarchist presence today, all responding to initial challenges posed by Gunderloy such as "What is an anarchist?" "What is a government?" "How does an anarchist society work?" "Is anarchy the end of history?"—and so on.

Ranging in insight and quality from lame to inspired, all essays in the collection grapple with questions most basic to anarchism today; at times certain writers bog down in dogmatic definitions and positions, while others search for meaningful connections between anarchist ideas and the realities of social transformation. Still others pose entirely new and relevant questions, such as "Why are anarchists so often elitist know-it-alls?" "How to reconcile the

gaps between personal life and political ideals?" "How to work for practical solutions without becoming Libertarian lobbyists or democratic socialists?"

Generally the conclusions to which the various authors arrive are relative and vague. This is by no means a work with patented solutions or recommendations for the reader, who is left groping for firm ground in lieu of once-fast convictions. If you seek definitive answers to the puzzling conundrums of anarchism, this book will disappoint.

But I read this collection as a touchstone for further thinking, reshaping, and action. Confusion about principles need not paralyze us in practice; in fact, as the essays suggest, we should begin to worry when we feel like we have all the answers. Skeptical at the outset, I ended up appreciating this collection because it stimulated thoughts and strategies of my own that will prove useful. Moreover, there is a kind of solidarity in the search for a viable anarchist presence, and *Anarchy and the End of History* can be a helpful signpost warning us that others are searching too. -J.A.



Anarchy 101

Anarchy 101: An Introductory Anthology #1 (Anon, POB 664, Station C, Toronto, Ontario, M6J 3S1, Canada, 1992) unpaginated \$1.00 pamphlet.

This pamphlet is an anthology of reprints meant as "a sort of political primer" on anarchism. It includes "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Anarchism," an excerpt consisting of chapters 1, 3 & 4 from Alexander Berkman's *The ABC of Anarchism*, Peggy

Kornegger's "Anarchism: The Feminist Connection," and an excerpt from Franz Borkenau's book on the Spanish Civil War, *The Spanish Cockpit*. While these may not be the perfect introductory articles (everyone will have her or his own list), they are probably as good a start as you're likely to find for people wanting to learn something about 'traditional', ideological anarchism. (There is no hint of any contemporary or historical anti-work, anti-ideological or anti-civilizational perspectives here, but then we wouldn't be talking about anarchism, would we?) The publisher promises future anthologies and is asking for contributions and criticism. -J.M.

Imaginal Rave

The Imaginal Rave by Cinnamon Twist (Tribal Donut, 41 Sutter St., Box 1348, San Francisco, CA. 94104, 1992) 40pp. \$2.00 (cash) mini-pamphlet.

Raves are, according to Cinnamon Twist, "the space-age tribal youth ritual, the return of the dionysian energy that first emerged in '50s rock'n'roll and erupted in full force in the late '60s with the intertwining of music and psychedelic drugs."

If raves need a theory to realize their radical potential, *The Imaginal Rave* attempts to provide it. For those who see hope for social breakthroughs in the mass spread of drug-induced, techno-beat-intensified, communal dance parties, this is a must read. For those skeptical that ecstatic partying holds any potential for shedding layers of stifling character armoring and social conditioning, this won't help. You'll just need to be there when it happens.

The crux is Cinnamon Twist's succinct question: "And what if dance could be a modality of social change?" At least it sounds like more fun than most demos. -J.M.

Vampires

Virgintooth by Mark Ivanhoe (III Publishing, POB 170363, San Francisco, CA. 94117, 1991) 192pp. \$7.00 paper.

Virgintooth is the tale of Elizabeth and her life as a vampire. Her evolution and growth propel the plot, though I must admit I'm not a fan of vampire stories.

The novel can be read enjoyably as a vampire adventure, or, for 'deeper' readers, as an examination of life's paradoxes, illusions, and difficult choices. If you're attracted to the Transylvanian genre, here is a new twist. -T.O.

Telegraph Ave. calendar

Telegraph Avenue Street Calendar 1993 by Ace Backwords (Twisted Image, 1630 University Ave. #26, Berkeley, CA. 94703) \$7.00.

Ace Backwords' "Twisted Image" comic strip should be familiar to *Anarchy* readers by now (if not see his strip in the letters section of this issue). His annual street calendar is just as creative as his strip. Featuring photos of Berkeley street people—homeless persons, agitators, artists and musicians—along with a bit of relevant commentary, the calendar opens a window to a unique slice of local life. If you really need a calendar, this one is worth considering. What it lacks in its B&W photo quality, it makes up for in its down-to-earth subjects. —J.M.

Updating the IWW?

What's New with the IWW? compiled by Rob Los Ricos (Self-published, Rob Los Ricos, 504 W. 24th #81, Austin, TX. 78705, 1993) unpaginated, loose-leaf pamphlet. No price listed.

Through reproduction of excerpts from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) Preamble, Larry Law's *Bigger Cages, Longer Chains*, Murray Bookchin's *Remaking Society*, *Semiotext(e)* and *Anarchy*, along with his own thread of cogent commentary, Rob Los Ricos has compiled a compelling critique of aspects of IWW union practice in *What's New with the IWW?* Although there are certainly several other important grounds for criticizing the IWW's historical and present activities and strategies, Los Ricos makes a long needed start at constructing a self-critique from within the union-building milieu. For anyone still adhering to fundamental anarcho-syndicalist ideological assumptions, this pamphlet should be a welcome breath of fresh air in the stale atmosphere of 19th century workerism that still prevails in most unionist circles. —J.M.

Confronting Columbus

Confronting Columbus edited by J. Yewel, C. Dodge, J. DeSirey (McFarland & Co., Box 611, Jefferson, NC. 28640, 1992) 217pp. \$24.95 hardcover.

This excellent collection of essays on the Columbian legacy deserves to be widely distributed, especially to schools and libraries where it is desperately needed. Beginning with Howard Zinn's "1492-1992: A Historian's Perspective," the editors have selected a set of succinct, cogent essays that, when read, will certainly help turn around the perspectives of even the most knee-jerk supporters of Columbus' worldshaking invasion of Turtle Island. Included are contributions from John Mohawk on "Discovering Columbus: The Way Here," José Barreiro with his "A Note on the Tainos," Verena Stolcke on "Conquered Women," Eduardo Galeano on "King Sugar," James Loewen on the impoverished level of the teaching of "Columbus in High School," William Bigelow's "Once Upon a Genocide: Columbus in Children's Literature," and Ward Churchill's "Decon-

structing the Columbus Myth," among others. Although the Quincentennial, for which this volume was specially prepared, has come and gone, the issues these essays address remain of the highest importance. For as long as our children are all routinely taught a mutilated history which glorifies slavers, torturers and mass murderers, how will we North American descendants of conquerors and conquered ever understand our actual place amidst all the other cultures of this world? —J.M.

The Reality Manifesto

The Reality Manifesto by Mickey Z. (Apathy Press Poets, 2924 E. Coldspring Lane, Baltimore, MD. 21214, 1993) 8pp. \$1.00 pamphlet.

This little 8-page rant is subtitled "A Look at Pseudo-Life in the Post-Modern Age." It points out that "We've become spectators. The typical American no longer *lives* life, he *experiences* and *watches* an image of life." But it doesn't do enough with this realization. One of the sub-headings points out that we are "United in isolation," but instead of advocating that we break through this isolation, author Mickey Z. takes a cynical stance and argues that "image-making has reached the point where 'fighting City Hall' is tantamount to suicide." He instead urges that we "cultivate an individualized lifestyle that enables us to avoid joining the mainstream, 9-to-5 pseudo-world, we can seek our own inner peace." This is true enough on one level, but it can also be a rather pathetic goal to refuse to challenge what disgusts us with this world. —J.M.

COINTELPRO revisited

A review by Toni Otter

The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, (South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph St., Boston, MA. 02115, 1990) 460pp. \$16.00 paper.

As Brian Glick writes in the preface, "The full story of COINTELPRO [counterintelligence programs] has not yet been told." But much information is available and Glick in *War at Home* and Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall in *Agents of Repression* have recently presented some of it. "What sets *The COINTELPRO Papers* apart," writes Glick, "is the number and scope of FBI documents it reproduces."

As Glick points out, COINTELPRO never ended. The concealment of "post-COINTELPRO domestic counterintelligence action is part of a broader effort to rehabilitate the U.S. political police. Central to that effort has been a sophisticated campaign to refurbish the public image of the FBI [...]. The new directors have cultivated a low-visibility managerial style and discreetly avoided attack on prominent liberals. Anti-communism...has been augmented by 'counter-terrorism' and 'the war on drugs,' pretexts that better resonate with current popular fears. The old myth of the FBI as crime-busting protector of democratic rights has been revived in modern garb by films like 'Mississippi Burning' and the television series, 'Mancuso, FBI.'"

This repackaging of the FBI has fooled some people, but for those with eyes to see, Churchill and Vander Wall have painstakingly presented a record which clearly indicts the FBI with the FBI's own self-incriminating documents. Their book covers the history of FBI attacks on the Black, Puerto Rican Independence, and American Indian Movements, The New Left and assorted other radicals, and the Socialist Workers' and Communist Parties. Their account is meticulously footnoted and replete with instructive detail.

In the "Conclusion: COINTELPRO Lives On" the authors update the latest FBI counterinsurgency activity directed against certain groups and individuals. They also discuss the increasing incarceration of the U.S. population, and

such gulags as Marion and Lexington prisons. Churchill and Vander Wall suggest, in part, as antidotes to police/FBI repression "community control over local police forces, the dismantling of localized police SWAT capabilities, the...elimination of national computer net participation by state and local police forces, the abolition of police 'intelligence' units, and deep cuts in the resources...already allocated to the police establishment.... Every judicial ruling...which serves to [increase] police intervention...must be met with massive...outrage and rejection [...]. Energy must be devoted to heading off the planned expansion of 'control units' within every existing prison in the country." (p.327) The authors include the following in their concluding remarks: "The development of viable options to avert consummation of a full-fledged police state in North America will require a deep rethinking, among many who purport to oppose it, of priorities and philosophical positions, including the near hegemony of pacifism and non-violence on the left. The emphasis accorded confrontation with the police and penal systems will have to increase rapidly... within virtually all groups pursuing progressive social agendas, from environmentalism to abortion rights. The fates of prisoners, *particularly* those...engaging in armed struggle against the state, must thus be made a central concern [...] understandings must be achieved that what is currently being done to political prisoners and prisoners of war, in 'exemplary' fashion, is ultimately designed for application to far wider groups [...] that the facilities in which such things are done to them are intended to eventually house us all; that the enforcement apparatus which has been created to combat their 'terrorism' simultaneously holds the capacity to crush all that we hold dear or seek to achieve, soon and perhaps irrevocably. In sum, if we do not move—and quickly—to overcome our tactical differences to...confront 'law enforcement' in this country, all the rest of our... social preoccupations will shortly be rendered meaningless by the very forces we have all too frequently elected to ignore." (p.326)

Anarchist press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

MADWORLD SURVIVAL GUIDE #9/Spring '93 (M.S.G. Press, Box 791377, New Orleans, LA 70179-1377) is a readable 60-page zine subtitled "New Orleans Anarchist Quarterly." This issue features an interesting commentary on women and birth control titled "Not just for the rich and white!" by Estrogen X, excerpts from the excellent pamphlet *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, a piece on "Practical bioregionalism" by George Netwerker, a survey by Estrogen X & Anabelle Zero of "Self-help: Support groups, menstrual extraction, digital self-abortion and herbal abortifacients," and Faithful Grasshopper's "Yet another blow from the drug war" (on the FDA's war against herbal medicine). Subscriptions are a total bargain at \$5/4 issues. Don't miss this!

essential reading for those genuinely interested in understanding what went so wrong with the Russian Revolution. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues).

ANARCHIST STUDIES #1/Spring '93 (Subscription Dept., The White Horse Press, 1 Strond, Isle of Harris, Scotland PA83 3UD) is a brand new, academically-oriented, 96-page "international journal concerned with all aspects of contemporary anarchist research and theory"—an outgrowth of the defunct *Bulletin of Anarchist Research*. This first issue features Murray Bookchin on "The ghost of anarcho-syndicalism," Richard Clemenson on "First steps towards mass sex-economic therapy? Wilhelm Reich and the Spanish Revolution," and David Berry on "The anarchist press in France today," along with a few reviews and a couple reports on the proceedings of a couple anarchist gatherings. A respectable beginning for this academically oriented project. Subscriptions are \$24/year (2 issues).

anti-anarchistic pamphlet *Angles on Anarchism*. Send \$2.00 or equivalent for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$10/4 issues + a yearly audio compilation tape.

Mountain struggle. Single copies are \$2.50; subscriptions remain \$7.50/4 issues.

Delinquent Theory #1/undated (POB 203, Portland, OR 97207) is a 15-page compilation of writings by Feral Faun over the last few years focussing on "a radical look at the question of identity." Even for those who don't agree with Feral's critique of society as the enemy of the individual, this lucid and pointed series of short essays is well worth reading. Send a contribution for photocopying and postage for a sample copy.

Slingshot #48/Spring '93 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720) is a 20-page anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-authoritarian student tabloid for the UC-Berkeley area community. The Spring issue features Mitchell Cohen's "US out of Africa," a "gore story" on rape titled "Not just the body," tips on "What to do if you get stopped by the police," and many short news pieces—mostly focussed on the S.F. Bay area. Send \$1 for a sample copy.

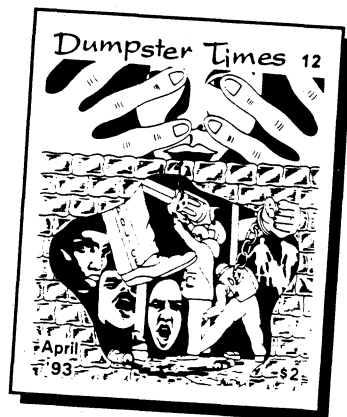
Anarchist Information Bulletin on Greece #2/Dec.'92 (Anarchist Coll, POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece) is a 14-page English-language news bulletin from the same group which publishes the Greek-language tabloid *Exergasi*. This issue is a chronology of events which occurred from Jan. '92 thru July '92, giving an essential overview for those interested in the lively Greek anarchist movement. Send a contribution for a copy.



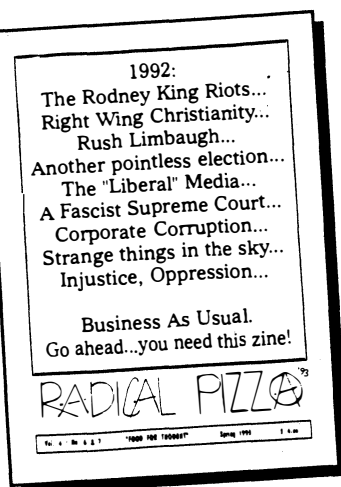
FIFTH ESTATE #341/Spring '93 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is a 32-page anti-civilization, anti-tech, anarcho-primitivist tabloid. This issue includes several important essays: "Was it anarchy in Somalia?" by E.B. Maple, George Bradford's "Watching the dogs salivate: Remarks on the 1992 elections (from the essay: 'voting could only be a pathetic, absurd kind of denial or repetition fetish for absurd, absolutely perilous conditions')," and Kathleen Rashid's "Grounds for decolonizing," along with much more well worth digesting. (Fran Schor's attempted religious reinterpretation of Emma Goldman's anarchist vision as "a form of spiritual love" in her essay "Love and anarchy: How love shapes the anarchist vision" is somewhat disappointing, however.) FE is always highly recommended. Subscriptions are \$6.00/4 issues.

ALSO RECEIVED:

Bayou La Rose #41/Spring '93 (POB 5464, Tacoma, WA 98415-0464) is a 20-page tabloid mixing news of workplace, ecological and indigenous activism. This issue includes a reprint (from *Workers Solidarity*) of an interview with members of the F.A.U. (Free Workers Union) titled "The situation in Germany," and "Appeal for solidarity and support for arrested Indonesian students" (protesting the relocation of farmers), and updates on the Big

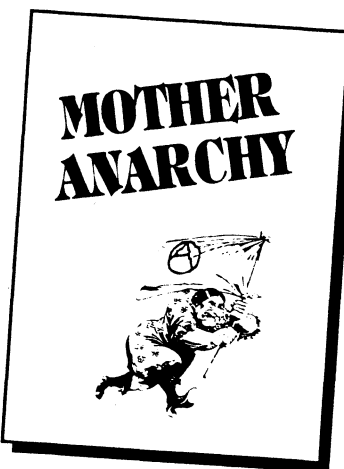


DUMPSTER TIMES #12/April '93 (W.S.D., POB 80044, Akron, OH 44308) is a 48-page zine-billed as "@kron's only Review of Art & Culture," that's always entertaining, eclectic and thoughtful. This issue features an introduction titled "The misadventures of Wanda S. Duck" explaining her trials and tribulations (health, workplace and arson problems) since the last issue appeared over a year ago, Dale Gowin's very worthwhile "Confessions of an Amerikan LSD eater," and Ed D'Angelo's well-argued "The moral culture of drug prohibition." Also included are Joan Conner's "Parting shots" (on words used in breaking up), "Meditations sent in a cigar box" by Allen Thornton (a dismal apology for industrial capitalism and wage slavery), and an exceedingly long and generous review of George Walford's poorly-argued,



RADICAL PIZZA #6-7/Spring '93 (Conspiracy M.E.D.I.A., POB 158324, Nashville, TN 37215) is a very nicely-done, 54-page anarcho-punk magazine, back after a year's absence with an impressive double-issue (though the music end has moved over to a new zine titled *R.A.D.*). Highlights include Keith Gordon's "The myth of the 'liberal' media," a couple short fictions by Neal Keating, Bob Black's "Maybe not well hung, but well endowed" (on the NEA circa 1990), an amusing personal account of "Rioting as a means of social discourse" (on the San Francisco extension of the L.A. riots of last year), and part one of a revealing interview with Danny Sheehan of the Christic Institute. There's more, but this should be enough to convince you to "Get it while it's hot!" Cover price is \$4.

DISCUSSION BULLETIN #58/Jan.-Feb. '93 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI 49501) is an occasionally interesting 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. This issue, one of the best in recent memory, includes reprints of two excellent articles from *Wildcat* #15 (published in Britain) titled "The hunt for red October" and "Remember Kronstadt," along with a critical exchange on democracy between Will Guest and *Wildcat*. This is



Mother Anarchy #2/undated (Laure Akai, PO Box 500, Moscow 107061, Russia) is the second issue of this very readable (primarily) English-language zine dealing with current problems faced by Russian anarchists. This issue includes "The price of the market," "The traffic in women and other Russian realities," and a reprint of Sebastian Job's "Moscow: Death of an American Dream." No price listed; send a donation for printing and postage.

Free Society Vol.2, #1/Winter '93 (POB 7293, Minneapolis, MN 55407) is a 32-page magazine that is "no longer the journal 'of' anyone except our-

Alternative Media Review

selves" (it was formerly the "Journal of the Youth Greens"). This first 'autonomous' issue is a special one on "Strategy," including a variety of contributions and reprints from the Minneapolis AWOL collective, the C.A.L., the **Pro-fane Existence** collective, Kate Star, Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Murray Bookchin and Chris Day. This issue includes a 4-page "Queer Feminist Insert" as well. Subscriptions are \$10/4 issues.

Love and Rage/Amor y Rabia Vol.4#2/April-May '93 (Box 3, Prince St. Station, New York, NY. 10012) is a 20-page left anarchist news-bimonthly published in English & Spanish. This issue includes lots of short news pieces in sections titled "Notes of Revolt," "ABC anarchist black cross," "International News and Notes," and "Klan on the run," along with Paul Dalton on "Questioning (queer) authority," and Yusuf Al-Hallaq on "My own private Islam." Subscriptions are \$9.00/year.

OTHER PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Kaboom! #1/undated (Camille, POB 4472, Long Beach, CA. 90804-0472) is a new 20-page "Zine for and by Anti-Authoritarians." This first issue includes an elementary discussion of "Propaganda by the deed," an account of the "1992 Southern CA. Anarchist Gathering," a remembrance of anarchist Mollie Steimer, and a knee-jerk anti-porn piece. Free, but a donation of three 29¢ stamps "is welcome."



No #8 & #9/undated (POB 175, Liverpool, L69 8DX, U.K.) is a 14-page "Project of the Museum of Modern Alienation." Issue #8 has a cover slogan of "Belief is the enemy." Issue #9 features a piece on new work management strategies titled "New age, old tricks." Send at least \$1 or \$2 for a sample copy.

K.S.L. #4/undated (c/o BM Hurricane, London, WC1 3XX, England) is the 8-page bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library, an archive of anarchist publications loosely associated with the journal **Black Flag**. Issue #4 includes "A rebel spirit" (on the fascinating life of anarchist Leah Feldman). Subscriptions are £5/5 issues.

A Infos #29/Dec.'92 (Humeurs Noires [F.A.], BP 79, 59370 Mons en Baroeul, France) is the 8-page French edition (in the English language) of the **A-Infos** international "Bulletins d'information"—meant for spreading news for publication in anarchist periodicals. Send a contribution for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$6-\$10/year (IMO payable to ALDIR).

The Web unnumbered/Winter '93 (POB 40890, S.F., CA. 94110) is an 8-page San Francisco Bay area organizing newsletter. This issue focusses on the Direct Action Manual project, giving information and requesting endorsements and assistance. Send "a few stamps or \$1 in cash" for a copy.

London Psychogeographical Association Newsletter unnumbered/Imbolc '93 (LPA, Box 15, 138 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS, England) 4pp. *pre-situ* newsletter celebrating the "thirty-five years of non-existence" of the LPA. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

The Hyperborean Vol.3,#1/Mar. E.M.393 (Richard Gaska, 2024 N. Manor Dr., Erie, PA. 16505) is a photocopied zine "Dedicated to Freethought and Anarchism." This issue includes the thirteenth and last part of a reprinting of *The Bible Exposed* by Erasmus. Subscriptions are \$11/year (6 issues).

The Thought Vol.13,#2/Feb. & #3/Mar.'93 (POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is the 24-page, photocopied publication of the Philosophers Guild. Issue #2 contains some interesting comments from Ben Price and Robert Sagehorn. Issue #3 includes a piece of fiction titled "Circumcision of the heart" by Jeffery Lewis. Subscriptions are \$11/12 issues.

Anim@verse #6 & #7/undated (POB 57464, Jackson Stn., Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3, Canada) is a 12-page zine featuring short pieces on anti-racism, queer liberation, feminism and animal liberation. Issue #7 includes a piece supporting the World Trade Center bombing titled "Bombs for Imperialism." Subscriptions are \$5/12 issues (cash only) or trade.

Green Anarchist #31/Autumn '92 (Box H, 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford OX4 1HZ, U.K.) is a 24-page magazine dedicated to creating a society of "Autonomous, self-sufficient villages, bringing regression of technology." Issue #30 includes a section titled "Education or Indoctrination." Subscriptions are £4.75/5 issues.

Taujigiri #1/undated (Greg Carden, 501 Kirkwood Dr., Northport, AL. 35476) is a new 5-page zine of "ontological anarchy," unfortunately in unreadable type. A margin note reads "Print tiny illegible micro-copy that you have to squint at to have any hope of reading and you will be profound"—more likely you'll become blind! Send an SASE for a sample.

Croatian Express #1/undated (406 Waller, S.F., CA. 94117) is a new unpaginated "dada, situationist, TAZ, punk

Dropo Gunlit inspired free religion, zine, event, tribe...." Sample copies are \$1 in cash, stamps or trade.

RSVP unnumbered/undated (Tad Davies, 821 Highview Ave., Manhattan Beach, CA. 90266) is a 24-page "co-op publication of writers and a publisher concerned about freedom issues of many different views," with a fair number of anarchists and anti-authoritarians involved. This special issue deals exclusively with the government massacre of David Koresh and his Davidian followers in Waco, Texas, reprinting numerous mainstream press accounts of the events. Subscriptions are \$16/year (8 issues + occasional bonus issues).

Indianarchy #1/April '93 (POB 3207, Bloomington, IN. 47402-3207) is a new, thick unpaginated zine bursting with rants like Michael Wood's "Fuck nazi skinhead bastards," Sub-Humyn's "Open season on queers" (on the Colorado constitutional amendment), and Joseph Average's "Anarchy, ecology & animal liberation," book reviews by BioHazard and Joseph Average, comix by M@ce, and much more. No price listed; send at least a buck for postage.

Cow After Cow unnumbered/undated (c/o linc, 22 Mansfield St., Allston, MA. 02134) is a little zine featuring shorts like "Anarchist however small," and "Rutabaga is my bomb." Send an SASE for a copy.

Non Serviam #1/May '93 (POB 70551, Richmond, VA. 23255) is a zine "dedicated to all (re)oppressed people (i.e. all-of-us)." Its flavor can be sampled through the slogan appearing on one page, "No Slogans. Planet Non Serviam." No price listed; send a 52¢ SASE for a copy.

Brick #9/undated (POB 1153, Russellville, AL. 35653) is a 16-page news bulletin "that seeks to include all aspects of concern to anarchists." This issue includes a short piece titled "Where's the revolution?" Sample copies are \$1.50; subscriptions \$4/4 issues.

Workers Solidarity #38/Spring '93 (POB 1528, Dublin 8, Ireland) is a 20-page anarchist-communist "Magazine of the Workers Solidarity Movement." This issue includes "Whose bloody war?" (on the civil wars in ex-Yugoslavia), and articles on the present situation in Ireland. Subscriptions are £2.50/4 issues.

Contra Flow #5 Mar.'93 (56a Info Shop, 56 Crampton St., London SE17, U.K.) is a 16-page info-zine formerly titled **56a Info Shop Bulletin**. It carries radical news "the general media doesn't touch" compiled "from radical journals and leaflets." Send a donation for a sample.

Anarchist Age Monthly Review #27/Mar.'93 (Mutual Aid, POB 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne, Australia) is a 40-page newsletter consisting of photocopied reprints from other sources, along with reprints of the **Anarchist Age Weekly Review**. Subscriptions are \$24/12 issues.

Little Book of Revolution #8/Winter '92-3 (Brooke, 116 W. Barrett Ave., Richmond, CA. 94801) is a 16-page zine featuring a nicely-done comic titled "I live in West Oakland" by the publisher, Brooke Terpstra. Send a 52¢ SASE for a copy.

PI@in Words #1/Mar.'93 (P.A.C., POB 8532, Haledon, NJ. 07508-3076) is a nicely-produced new 16-page tabloid "For the Oppressed People of Passaic County" published by the Paterson Anarchist Collective. This first issue includes lots of local news and commentary, along with incorporating the second issue of **Copwatch**, and a big section of "International Anarchist News."

The Me@nder Quarterly Vol.4,#4/April '93 (c/o Erik Riese, POB 14073, Mpls., MN. 55414-0073) is an 8-page "Newsletter of evolutionary anarchists" consisting of letters from contributors, back after a year's absence. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Black and Red #4/March-April '93 (c/o Hill, 160 Lefferts Ave., Brooklyn, NY. 11225) is an 8-page "Newsletter of the @narchist Caucus" which is "committed to building an anarchist presence within" the Committees of Correspondence. No price listed; send an SASE for a copy.



Black Fist #2/March-April '93 (15110 Bellaire, Box 317, Houston, TX. 77083) is a new 20-page "anarchist magazine of radical politics, culture and society." This issue includes a band interview with "The Goats," and comments on the World Trade Center bombing under the title of "Louder than a bomb." Subscriptions are \$6/year (? issues).

Castration Threat #3/undated (3018 J St. #140, Sacramento, CA. 95816) is the playful 16-page tabloid successor to **Alphabet Threat** and **Bicycle Threat**. Contributions include "11 reasons why laws don't work," "C is for censorship," "Confessions of a cunt lover," "Facing eviction? Letter to my landlord," and "Castrating myself" (an account of a \$35 Planned Parenthood

vasectomy). Send a couple stamps or a donation for a sample copy.

Misceance #3/Spring '93 (UCSC, College Eight #178, 200 Heller Drive, Santa Cruz, CA 95064-1011) is a relatively new, unpaginated zine "dedicated to anti-establishment subculture...and anarchist r/evolution." This issue features a long interview with Unmentionable zine publisher Kellina. Sample copies are \$1 postpaid.

NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

A.N.A. unnumbered/Nov.'92-Jan.'93 (Moésio Rebouças, Caixa Postal 78, 11510-970 Cubatão-SP, Brasil) is a 6-page Portuguese-language newsletter subtitled "Informativo da Agência de Notícias Anarquistas." Send a contribution for a copy.

Perspectief #29/Okt.-Dec.'92 & #30-31 [double issue]/Jan.-Maart '93 (Libertaire Studiegroep, Dracenastraat 21, 9000 Gent, Belgium) is a 44-page (issue #29) to 124-page (double issue #31-31) Dutch-language journal of libertarian perspectives. Single copies are 80F plus postage.

Disturb@nce #107/undated (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece) is an 8-page, Greek-language tabloid, with more news of current struggles in Greece. Cover price is 150 drachmas.

Ektos Nomoy (Against The Law) #16/φεβ.'93 (POB 11251, 541 10 Thessaloniki, Greece) is professionally produced 16-page, Greek-language newspaper. Sample copies are 200 drachmas plus postage.

Umanita' Nova Vol 73, #2/17 Gen. thru #13/11 Aprile '93 (c/o G.C.A. Pinelli, via Roma 48, 87019 Spezzano Albanese (CS), Italy) is the 8-page, Italian-language weekly newspaper of the Federazione Anarchica Italiana. Subscriptions are US \$55.00/year.

Rojo y Negro #40/Dic.'92 (Sagunto 15, pral, 28010 Madrid, Spain) is the 16-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the reformist anarcho-syndicalist C.G.T. (Confederación General del Trabajo—a split from the more traditionally anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. in Spain). Subscriptions are 1,000ptas/year (12 issues).

Libera Volo #47/Feb. thru #50/May '93 (A.R.P., PO Box 57, Sakyo Yubinkyoku, J-606 Kyoto, Japan) is the 6 to 8-page Japanese-language newsletter of the Federacio Anarkista of Japan. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Libera... #21/Fev. & #22/Mar.'93 (C.E.L., CP 14576, CEP 22412-970, Rio de Janeiro -RJ, Brasil) 2pp. Portuguese-language information bulletin by the publishers of Utopia magazine. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthese Anarchiste #134/Mars, #135/Avril & #136/Mai '93 (25 rue Dumé d'Aplemont, 76600 Le Havre, France) is a 4-page, monthly, French-language "re-

view of synthetic anarchism" published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

W@rrior #1/Feb. & #2/April '93 (A.R.P., PO Box 57, Sakyo Yubinkyoku, J-606 Kyoto, Japan) is a new 8-page Japanese-language newsletter "published mainly by young anarchists who are involved in several movements." It includes a back page in English summarizing recent Japanese anarchist activities. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Plexiglas #8/Feb.'93 (c/o G.C.A. Pinelli, via Roma 48, 87019 Spezzano Albanese (CS), Italy) is a 68-page Italian-language pamphlet supplement to **Umanita' Nova** covering recent social movements in Italy. No price listed.

De Nar #76/Jan., #78/Maart & #79/April '93 (V.Z.W. De Nar, Postbus 104, B-1210, Brussels 21, Belgium) at 4-6pp. is the "only Dutch-language" monthly anti-authoritarian newspaper, whose name translates as "The Fool." Issue #39 includes a 12-page anti-racist "speciale uitgave" insert titled **NN**. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Anarchic Intervention unnumbered/undated (POB 30557, 10033 Athens, Greece) is a new 8-page tabloid published in collaboration with **Angels Mutiny**. Send a contribution for a sample.

Solidaridad Obrera #234/Enero & #235/Feb.'93 (Ronda de San Antonio, 13 pral 08001-Barcelona, Spain) is the 16-page Spanish-language regional newspaper of the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. in Catalonia. Sample copies are 100ptas plus 20ptas postage.



Mordicus #9/Avril '93 (BP 11, 75622 Paris Cedex 13, France) is a lively 32-page, French-language tabloid, now back after nearly a year's absence due to charges of condoning theft, looting, etc., which have since been dismissed. This issue features "Les écrans de nos vies" by Serge Quadruppani. The cover price of this issue is 20F; Subscriptions are 100F/? issues.

CNT #147/Mar., #148/April & #149/Mayo '93 (CNT-Periódico, Apartado, n.º 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) is the 24-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers Union). The March issue includes Abraham Guillén's "La crisis de civilización consumista." Subscriptions are 2,500ptas./year (12 issues).

Exegersi #11/undated (Anarchist Coll, POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece) is a 12-page, Greek-language newspaper whose title translates as "Riot" or "Revolt." This issue includes "The way of the long night...(Nationalism, anti-nationalism, war and peace)." Cover price is 200 Drachmas.

Schwarzer Faden #45/Jan.'93 (Postfach 1159, 7043 Grafenau-1, Germany) is a well-produced 72-page, German-language magazine, subtitled "Vierteljahresschrift Für Lust und Freiheit." This issue includes Assata Shakur on "Rassismus in den USA." Subscriptions are 50.-DM/8 Issues.

Második Látás #10/1993 (c/o Rác Mihály, XIII. u. 35, Budapest 1172, Hungary) is a 108-page Hungarian-language anarcho-punk zine, self-described as an "individualist, direct action zine." Sample copies are available for \$1 postpaid.

CIRA Bulletin #49/Fev.'93 (avenue de Beaumont 24, CH-1012 Lausanne, Switzerland) is a 34-page French-language bulletin of the library of the International Center for Research on Anarchism (C.I.R.A.). Subscriptions are \$25.00/year (including library loan privileges).

Telegraph Vol.4, #1/Jan., #2/Feb. & #3/März '93 (Schliemannstr. 22, Berlin O-1058, Germany) is a 48 to 52-page German-language publication from East Berlin covering the current situation in Germany. Subscriptions are 34DM/year.

Mavro Rodo #2/Ιούλιος 1992 (PO Box 10005, 54110 Thessaloniki, Greece) is a large new 68-page Greek-language "libertarian-anarchist review for humans and their culture," whose title translates as "Black Rose." This issue includes "National issues and libertarian thought: The case of anarcho-syndicalist Juan Peiro on Catalunya," and two accounts of "Activism in the U.S.," among other pieces. Send a contribution or trade for a sample.

Brand #54/Feb.'93 (Box 150 15, S-104 65 Stockholm, Sweden) is a lively, 32-page Swedish-language magazine, with consistently great photography. This issue includes "SeXotopia: Om pornografi, politik & perversjoner" by Eva X Moberg. Cover price is 20KR.

Ekinza Zuzena: Revista Libertaria #12/Primavera-Verano '93 (Ediciones EZ Argitaraldiak, Apdo. 235, Postakutxa, 48080 Bilbo, Bizkaia, Spain) is a slick, 60-page Spanish-language "libertarian review" from the Basque country. This issue looks especially interesting, including pieces like "¿Desierto Indus-

trial...?," "No disfrutamos en el paro, Ni disfrutamos trabajando," "Las estrategias de la insumisión ante los juicios," and a long "Manifiesto a favor de los niños y niñas." Subscriptions are \$15/4 issues).

De Bello Civili #1 & #3/undated (Northwest Passage Club, POB 50884, 54014 Thessaloniki 22, Greece) very thick, unpaginated, Greek-language situationist journal published by "a closed rebels union striving for the development of the practical moments of theory and the theoretical moments of practice." Single issue price is 1,000 drachmas.

Buiten de Orde #1 & #4 (Vrije Bond, Postbus 1338, 3500 BH Utrecht, Netherlands) is a 28 to 36-page Dutch-language magazine of local and international anarchist news and revelations. Subscriptions are 10 guilders/year.

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MINI-ZINES: (No Anarchy exchanges)

Minifictions #11/Spring '93 (Make-upaname Press, POB 31848, Seattle, WA 98103-1848) 8pp. mini-essay by Luke McGuff "On getting pierced." Send a stamp and an SASE or trade.

Piano #1/Jan. thru #5/May '93 (First Person Publ., 871 'H' St., Port Townsend, WA 98368) 2pp. zine for piano-lovers. Sample free.

Comic Update #152/Feb. thru #156/May '93 (Andrew Roller, 5960 S. Land Park Dr., Suite 253, Sacramento, CA 95822) 8pp. mini-review-zine. Copies are 50¢.

Naughty Naked Dream Girls #1/May '93 (Andrew Roller, 5960 S. Land Park Dr., Suite 253, Sacramento, CA 95822) 16pp. mini-porn-zine. Copies are \$1.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS:

Die Rote Hilfe Vol.19, #1/Jan.-Mar. '93 (Postfach 6444, 23 Kiel 14, Germany) is a competently-produced 32pp. quarterly magazine of leftist solidarity. This issue includes German anti-fascist coverage. Cover price is 2,50DM; subscriptions are 15DM/year.

L'Unité Humaine #5/Jan.-Mars & #6/Avril-Juin '93 (L'Alliance Universelle, 73 Av. de la Résistance, 83000 Toulon, France) 4pp. French-language journal aiming at world "brotherhood and peace," with heavy Christian overtones. Subscriptions are 100F/year (4 issues).

Búvárak Reménykednek unnumbered/undated (Balás Szabó, 4400 Nyíregyháza, Kodály u.34/29, Hungary) unpaginated Hungarian-language punk-zine. Send a contribution for a sample.

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST: Some History & Reasons For Being

By Bob McGlynn

On Gogol Boulevard (named after a hang-out for Moscow's counterculture) is the infrequently published zine of Neither East Nor West-NYC (NENW-NYC). NENW-NYC networks alternative oppositions in East and West for mutually supportive solidarity (though we're open to anything and also work with the 3rd world and 4th world land-based peoples). OGB also has had sections published in the former **Torch** and until recently, **Love and Rage**. (**Love and Rage** canceled us and we're fighting to get back in.) **Anarchy** is now running a 4-pager from us and our section will also appear in **Amor Y Rabia** (a **Love and Rage** Spanish edition being published autonomously in Mexico). **Fifth Estate** ran one section as will the **Anarchist Youth Federation Bulletin** and **Profane Existence**.

NENW-NYC has its roots going back to 1980 with the formation of Poland's Solidarity free trade union. Individual anarchists and members of the Workers Solidarity Alliance along with the (now defunct) Revolutionary Socialist League hooked up while doing Solidarity support. In 1983, with Soviet exiles, this crew and others formed the New York Trust Group, a sister group to the Moscow Trust Group, a semi-above ground and much persecuted anti-nuclear organization. (Some in the group were also members of the New York-Anti-Nuclear Group and the Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group. These two groups helped pioneer putting the struggles of the subjugated in the Russian empire on the anti-nuclear agenda.)

New York Trust Group work culminated on Aug. 3rd, '86. After months of secretive preparation, members of the New York Trust Group

and Brits from U.K. Trustbuilders were accompanied by the Moscow Trust Group in a post-Chernobyl (and symbolically timed for the Aug. 6 anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing) anti-nuclear leafletting at the entrance to Moscow's Gorky Park. The team was, as expected, busted in 5 minutes and detained by the KGB. The action garnered page 2&3 coverage in major dailies worldwide. One week later two people from the U.K. Greenham Common Women's Peace Encampment repeated the action at the Moscow Zoo, without getting detained. Glasnost was beginning to flower (unknown to many is that it began with Chernobyl) and savage repression against the Trust Group had abated. Sergei Batovrin, its rep abroad in New York, concluded that the special support work could then be put to rest. (One reason for the "Mission to Moscow" was to solidify the umbrella of protection Western anti-nukers had provided the Trust Group against complete annihilation at the hands of the KGB.)

Months later, many of those involved above plus others formed NENW-NYC to continue the work but with a greatly expanded agenda: *mutual solidarity* with all the people in the East. That is, not only did we picket for imprisoned draft resisters in Poland, but Poles were asked, if they could, to support struggles here. And yes, they did, for instance with petitioning in favor of NYC bike messengers fighting (and winning) against an attempted ban of bikes in a grid of midtown Manhattan. In the Fall of '87 we published our first issue of OGB (6 to date). It was an immediate hit-nothing like it was being published anywhere.

The rest is a lengthy and notable history—we've scored and helped score one success

after another (in freeing prisoners etc.). Our unique work pioneered a certain worldwide networking that continues to this day, and is expanding.

We're thriving and gaining members. This might seem odd to some who think such work is now passé. But current events in Russia with Communists again in the open ought wake people up. We've never wavered in our belief in the continuing validity of our organizing. Unlike other East/West projects, we've seen no reason to stop or even shift gears to any great extent. We're hardly about to abandon our Eastern friends—they'd never consider doing the same to us....

Confusion over the East remains though and so below are some notes justifying our stance of *keeping-on, keeping-on* RE: "*Communism is no more/The East is no more/There's no more East vs. West*":

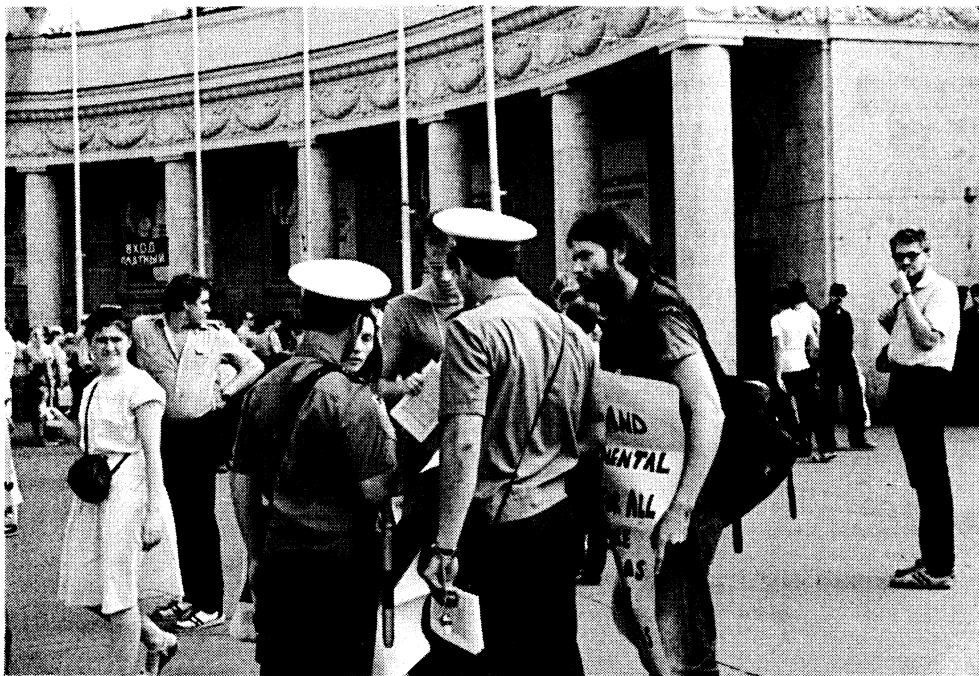
"The Soviet empire is dead. Long live the Russian empire." -graffiti in Dushanbe, capitol of Tajikistan (an ex-USSR colony)

—The East exists geographically in part, with a shared history and shared present, no matter that the mode of production is supposedly switching (often with seeming *impossible* difficulty, e.g. Rumania, one of the East states most closely resembling classic Nazism); All the East problems we worked on in the past *still* continue, i.e., conscription, political prisoners, pollution, censorship, etc., and of course nothing has changed here—as part of what we did/do was/is get Easterners to work on problems that we face here. The fact that some of the East is going the Western route makes joint activism all the more relevant as we'll share the same enemies/problems. And now that communication has been greatly freed up that means it's time to really get organizing, and *not* to quit; Still, Communists remain entrenched in power positions everywhere in the 'Ex' countries:

"But I think that behind each breakaway movement is a breakaway demagogue who will set up his breakaway demagogue government. In many breakaway countries the governments now say, on paper, that you are free to be an entrepreneur. Well, that's great if you have the cash to invest. But who has the cash? The party bosses who were there before are the new entrepreneurs. Guys who got thrown out of office wound up buying restaurants, hotels or factories. The drones who were wandering around the streets are still wandering..."

—Frank Zappa, **Playboy**, Apr. '93 (Zappa, a hero of the Czech underground stated, "In Prague, I was told that the biggest enemies of the Communist Czech state were Jimmy Carter and me. A student I met said that he was arrested by the secret police and beaten. They said they were going to beat the Zappa music out of him." Vaclav Havel appointed Zappa to be a special cultural ambassador, but nixed it when caving into pressure from former Secretary of State Baker.)

So, many Communists are overnight capitalists and are often changing their stripes to 'democrat' or nationalist or fascist. In Slovenia, the most Western of the 6 former Yugoslav republics, Communists hold all key government positions. In Croatia an ex-Communist general,



Trust Group members get nailed by cops at Moscow's Gorky Park -OGB photo.



Malgorzata Turasiewicz of Gdansk Freedom & Peace visits NYC's Tompkins Square Park while the homeless still had an encampment there. Her group wrote a famed Solidarity statement with the park after the first riot. At right are homeless Mike and squatter Joe Braun. -OGB photo

Tudjman, is in power. Serbia has the Communist Milosevic at the reins. Communists are in power in all the 5 former Russian colonies of Central Asia. In Ukraine and Byelorussia the Communist nomenclatura (the Communist administrative apparatus) are firmly in control. 'Reformed' Communists were voted back into control of the Lithuanian parliament and the ex-general secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Brazauskas, was voted in as president. (Lithuania was perhaps the most fiercely nationalistic and anti-Communist of all the lands on the Russian periphery.) And Russia?: Gorbachev, Yeltsin, the lot; all were loyal Party hacks, and the Russian parliament is full of unreconstructed Communists. (At press time the tug of war between a dictatorial Yeltsin and a dictatorial parliamentary opposition is still unfolding.) At best, even where obviously the Communists put on a heavy democratic act with real liberalization, their authoritarian manner bleeds thru. And at worst, it's open repression, just as before.

Some examples of 'liberalization':

Uzbekistan: "Uzbekistan is like the old days," Izmetsullaev [an opposition leader of the Birlik party] said, "If you want to know what things were like in the Soviet republics, you have come to the right place. We are not allowed to hold meetings in the open. Birlik cannot be a normal party. Two of our leaders were beaten by [president] Karimov's men and must be in exile in Moscow. Several others are political prisoners." -Andrew Kopkind, *The Nation*, Jan. 18, '93

Ukraine: "It's back to square one," lamented Dora... "After the putsch in Moscow in '91, only one person was removed from the government, and now he is back and has a high position. It's the same old people doing the same old thing. Not only that, but the same old people now have more power because they are not under Moscow's control." -Ibid

Lithuania: "There is restrained freedom of peaceful meetings [and] associations...Correspondence with foreign countries is controlled

and registered. Telephone conversations are listened to. From the very beginning of the creation of democratic parties and movements, the agents of the KGB carried out their destruction, split them, and if they didn't succeed, created alternative organizations of the same name...[The] government gives subsidies to the parties, movements, and publications which are disposed to it and frustrates economically the others...Our organization is not an exception-KGB agents are permanently libeling our activists, and threatening and persecuting them...Now they are seeking to evict us from our premises...."

-May '92 letter from the Social Movement Mutual Assistance to the Berlin May '92 conference "Extreme Poverty, Democracy, and Human

Rights in Europe"

Poland: "We do not recognize the legality of the existing order of law in the Republic of Poland, because the government has continued to utilize the legal order [Communist constitution] of the Peoples Republic of Poland. In essential spheres the Stalinist constitution of 1952 rules. Key positions at the highest levels continue to be occupied by the co-workers of the UB, SB [Communist security agencies] and foreign intelligence agencies [Soviet GRU and KGB]." -from the platform of Poland's Freedom Party

Serbia: "The current Serbian regime allows certain, albeit limited, freedom of the media and functions in conditions of formal demo-

cracy...[But] the real nature of Milosevic's regime is predatory or piratical, as are the regimes which existed or are still existing in South America and Africa. In spite of the fact that these regimes are frequently formerly democratic, elections can never remove those who hold it from power." -Branko Milanovic in *Borba*, Nov. 1, '92

Czech Republic: Anarchists and environmentalists are being busted under a severe riot law held over from the Communists.

Results of a Poll: Hungary's Szonda Ipsos institute polled Hungarians, Poles, Czechoslovakians, Russians, and Ukrainians as to their satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the state of human rights in their countries as of April '92. With 0=very dissatisfied and 100=very satisfied Hungary came in with a high of only 44 and Ukraine with a low of 27.

-We still have North Korea, Indochina, Cuba, Pol Pot, Shining Path, armed stalinist movements in Kurdistan, Guatemala, the Philippines and elsewhere. Leninist parties proliferate in the West and 3rd World. *China anyone???*

--A reversion to closed centralized despotism in the East, however archaic, is an option as a buffer to increasing internal and external economic decay. There's some populist support for this in Eastern countries.

-The current competition between Yeltsin and the headline parliamentarians has revealed what is open talk in Russia of what they call their 'hard-right' or 'national-Bolsheviks' coming to power. This crew is a mixture of Communists, monarchists, anti-semites, Russian Orthodox Church members, czarists, military higher-ups, and Russian nationalists. It's called the Red(Communist)-Brown(fascist) alliance. There is a literal intermix of them working/demonstrating together.

As an example you have the newly formed Russian Communist Party electing an old style Russian nationalist, Gennadi Zyuganov, as its



Spring '87 action at NYC Polish Consulate by Neither East Nor West demanding freedom of travel for Polish anarchists. -OGB photo.

leader in mid-February. Zyuganov is also a leader of the far-right National Salvation Front (NSF). Also from the NSF is Stanislav Terekhov, who heads the Officers Union. The union could become the NSF's military arm. A power vacuum in the military is opening to the advantage of the communists/nationalists: with widespread draft evasion, deferments, and thousands of young officers who fear being thrown out into the civilian economy. The armed forces are now regarded to neither be an effective fighting force nor to have any cohesive order under a central command. The Officers Union rejects the Start-2 Treaty and calls for the restoration of the USSR. Reportedly they've organized secret cells in the military and they openly call for a military dictatorship.

At the demonstrations of the reds/browns Soviet hammer and sickle flags fly next to portraits of Stalin and anti-Semitic placards. If they get into power the East will be the East again, *and then some*. The above are anti-American in the crude sense—and will have nukes. It won't be pretty. Russia is again selling arms to the Chinese and ties between them are increasing. A second cold war could make the first look tame. *And you can bet the above wants the empire back.*

—The East is becoming the category war. War is raging throughout ex-Yugoslavia and the ex-USSR (Tajikistan, Georgia, Moldavia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan). Armed conflicts and preparation for the same are reported elsewhere in the ex-USSR. Civil war is openly talked about within Russia. Russia's Muslim area of Chechnya has declared independence for instance. A myriad of violent conflicts may be just around the corner including all of the East countries plus Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Greece. There's no lack of ethnic and territorial scores to settle: Bulgaria and/or Greece seeking ex-Yugoslavia's Macedonia; friction between Armenia and Turkey; friction between Hungary and Slovakia over a joint dam project Hungary canceled and Slovakia is continuing and problems with the formers' large minority in the latter; Germans seeking territory in western Poland lost after WW2; nationalist forces in Austria and Germany seeking resolution for the Sudeten Germans who were first forced to become Czechoslovakian citizens after WW1 and then after WW2 were forcibly expelled to Germany; competition between Rumania and Hungary over the formers' Transylvania with its large Hungarian population; Albania at war with Serbia over Serbia's heavily Albanian Kosovo republic. And what will happen with the US and Russians taking opposite sides vis-à-vis Serbia? The list goes on. Improbable? One would hope. Impossible? No.

—With the 3rd/4th World simply being written off, with technology on the way to for all intents and purposes relatively eliminating the working class as we know it, violent Stalinist insurgency à la Shining Path may be an increasingly chosen option. Futuristic portrayals (in many films etc.) of a worldwide fenced-in decay into wholesale barbarism and self-cannibalization/



Spring '89 action in Gdansk against construction of a nearby nuclear plant. Anti-nukes won. -OGB photo

preying on ones own for the vast majority, alongside a teeny shielded elite, a shield enforced by a super high-tech police state, is not just a simple-minded apocalyptic prediction. As the world is sliding towards this, Nazism/Stalinism may be attractive. Communists turning nationalist/Nazi is well known now.

—Time stands relatively still in isolated and enclosed Soviet-type societies. The Communism of the Russian empire and China were/are simply modern versions of centuries old centralized despotisms (albeit with the ideological fever of a 'communist' veneer). The pricking open of these political black holes have and will continue to unleash profound upsurges in many forms from mass strikes (huge ones in the last year in Poland and the ex-USSR hardly mentioned in the US press), to Tiananmen Square massacres, to ethnic/civil wars, to possibly WW3. Over a quarter of humanity is emerging out of a time warp. Lookout...

—Post WW2 is a world with no Nazi movements in power. Yet anti-Nazi/fascist groups and initiatives proliferate. Today of course there are literal threats. But vigilance *always* must be maintained vis-a-vis Nazism. Why should Communism be treated any differently? Is the East/Communism passe?? Ask an Easterner....

Those are some of the reasons for our continued relevance.

We'll need subsidies to mail the other mags carrying us to send to the East/3rd World. Please make checks to the **Aspect Foundation** and mail to us: **Neither East Nor West-NYC, 528 5th St. Brooklyn, NY 11215. THANKS!** And if you'd like to see us get back into **Love and Rage** please drop us a note. **See you on Gogol Boulevard!**

HERE WE GO AGAIN

One of the big campaigns in Poland in the '80s was the fight for "alternative service," i.e. civilian service work for those who refused to be forced into mandatory military duty. The fight was mainly fought by Freedom and Peace, Polish anarchists, and supporters abroad, including **Neither East Nor West-NYC** and others who helped form **Love & Rage**.

Poles eventually did win the fight, but it's been a battle ever since having it implemented. And now they have imprisoned draft resisters once again: **Roman Galuszko, 1 1/2 yrs.; Piotr**

Krzyzanowski, and Piotr Dawidziak, both 1 yr.

The Polish Anarchist Federation, Amnesty International, the Green Federation, Association 'Objector', Freedom and Peace, and the Helsinki Committee have had rallies, letter writing campaigns, demos, and concerts for them.

This is a major anarchist campaign and international aid is being requested, just as in prior years.

PLEASE HELP FREE POLAND'S NEW POLITICAL PRISONERS.

LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGNS OFTEN WORK - IT IS NOT A WASTE OF TIME!

Please send protest letters demanding the release of the prisoners and an end to forced military training to:

Lech Walesa, Wiejska 10, Warszawa, Poland.

(Actions at Polish embassies/consulates are called for also.)

For more info: **Association 'Objector', 50-040 Wroclaw, Ul. Pilsudskiego 15/17, pok. 15, Piatki godz. 17-19, Poland, Tel: 44-46-51 / Jacek Sierpinski, Info Office of Polish Anarchist Federation, c/o An Arche, Uniwersytet Slaski, Bankowa 12, 40-007 Katowice, Poland.**

'ZAPO'—NEW ANARCHIST GROUP IN CROATIA

Dear Friends,

We are a group of people from Zagreb, Croatia. We have recently formed an anarcho-pacifist organization called **ZAPO** (Zagabrian Anarcho-Pacifist Organization). Although we've worked together before, we didn't have any place to work together until Dec. '92.

Things we did before:

—We've organized anti-war and anti-politics demonstrations. It wasn't allowed by police and only 20-30 people showed in June of '91.

—We made the first issue of the anarcho-pacifist fanzine called **Comunitas**. About our first issue: In the article 'Anarchism' we wrote of anarchist basics and eco-anarchism. We took some ideas from old anarchists (Bakunin, Kropotkin, Proudhon) and also from eco-anarchist Murray Bookchin. Of course we put forward our own ideas too. In the 'Pacifism' article we gave our opinion about the war and its senselessness, which we felt personally though

we weren't directly involved (we didn't serve in the army and we refuse to). We also had articles about ideologies opposite to anarchism (nazism and racism). Of course we wrote about them in a negative context.

Things we are doing now:

- We are making a new issue of *Comunitas* together with people from the Anti-War Campaign Croatia.

- We're trying to contact as many more people as we can to exchange material, ideas etc.

What we plan to do:

- Further work on the zine.
- Making posters, stickers, etc.
- Organizing protest meetings.
- Other things connected to anarchism.

We need any kind of help from organizations outside Croatia. That help is needed 'cos we work in very hard conditions. (It's still war here. Average income is low. There's also enormous inflation.)

If you would like more information about us, or get materials from Croatia, please write: ZAPO c/o ARK, Tkalciceva 38, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, Tel: 041-422-495, Fax: 041-335-230.

Many warm regards, Vanja Goldberger

PARTIAL VICTORY FOR NIGERIAN ANARCHISTS

By Bob McGlynn

Anarchist/revolutionary syndicalist political prisoners from Nigeria's Awareness League (AL) -Udemba Chuks, Garba Adu, Kingsley Etioni, and James Ndubuisi-won some reprieve Jan. 29th when they were conditionally released on bail (they must report to the State Security Service each week). Arrested seven months ago during a wave of worker/student unrest protesting IMF/World Bank imposed austerity plans, they were detained under the notorious "Decree #2"-a catch-all "preventative detention" law.

At a Calabar court hearing Jan. 25th their lawyer, Ifeanyi Nnajiogor, demanded a grant of bail. On hand were 100 AL members plus (according to a Feb. 1 AL communique) "scores of journalists, activists, members of the Nigerian Bar Association, and interested members of the public."

Then on Jan. 29th "we won our greatest legal battle yet...[when for] the first time we would set our eyes on them in seven months. They looked badly emaciated, weak and sick." Setting a legal precedent poking a hole in Decree #2, the judge granted bail, and set the next court appearance for Feb. 18th. Then as the four left court "there was an attempt to have our colleagues re-arrested outside the premises, but this was stoutly resisted by the crowd." They were then promptly hospitalized and advised to have a two week stay.

The AL has info that the military may try to have the men re-arrested once again. This would not be uncommon in Nigeria where the judiciary and the military are constantly at odds.

In our last letter from the AL Feb. 28, the four have had their bail extended but must report to the State Security Service each day. One of them still remains hospitalized. The AL says "Judgement in the main suit is not expected before the end of April, 1993." The central suit maintains that the states action in detaining the

4 without charge was illegal, and that Decree #2 against them should be dropped.

"We thank you immensely for your solidarity so far in our struggle to free our four colleagues. We can only ask you not to relent in your efforts." -From AL letter Feb. 28

The U.S. Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA) and Neither East Nor West-NYC (NENW-NYC) have successfully spearheaded a worldwide campaign for the AL. A week of protests at Nigerian embassies was called for Feb. 22-26 with confirmations of actions by anarchists in Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Dublin, NYC, London, Berlin and Hamburg. (Anarchists were ready to demonstrate in countries like Bulgaria and Norway but they lacked Nigerian targets.) Petitions and protest letters have been received from Argentina, Japan, Turkey, South Korea, Russia, Italy, Brazil, Canada, Estonia, India, Norway, Ireland, Holland, Spain, Poland, the U.S., South Africa, Bulgaria (almost 700 names on petitions!), Germany, and the U.K. Anarchist publications worldwide have covered the story. Special thanks to Love and Rage newspaper who mailed an international appeal for AL, and the International Workers Association and Spain's National Confederation of Labor for sending \$500 each to AL for legal fees.

The question of money is of special priority. Ifeanyi Nnajiogor, the AL's lawyer, must travel 1000 kilometers from Lagos to Calabar, Nigeria. As of last Dec. the AL had a \$12,000 debt for legal and other fees. Ifeanyi is being extremely thoughtful and generous according to the AL, but his expenses are obvious and he must be paid. WSA and NENW-NYC know that over \$1000 has been received by AL from anarchists abroad, and since that helped keep Ifeanyi afloat, it's no exaggeration to claim that the international campaign played a part in AL's bail victory, possibly saving the lives of these men (you don't get fed in Nigerian jails).

International Money Orders or U.K. Bank Checks can be mailed directly to: Awareness League, c/o Samuel Mbah, POB 28, Agbani, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Foreign currency goes a long way now in Nigeria with \$1 equaling a third of a months wage-and it costs a third of a months wage to mail a letter out of Nigeria! As a fundraising effort for AL, their communiques will be made available for a contribution sent to: NENW-NYC, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, U.S. (Of course AL's letters are in the public domain and are available for a \$1 worth of postage and xeroxing fee, but please try to send more.)

For more info: WSA, 339 Lafayette St. Rm. 202, NY, NY 10012, U.S., Tel: 212-979-8353

RAPE IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA

By Manuella Dobos

In July, 1992, the US media reported on Serb detention camps for non-Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Soon after, the European and US press brought the story of mass gang-rapes of overwhelmingly Muslim, but also Croatian women of all ages by Serb troops. Many people resisted what might be media manipulation to get people to take sides. By January, '93, however, many authenticated reports (from, among other sources, special investigative bodies from the European Council, Amnesty International and

Helsinki Watch) showed there was mass rape in towns and villages taken by the Serbs in detention camps and in special brothel-camps. This sexual abuse was often in towns and villages taken by Serbs, public, sadistic and ending in death for the women. They also reported the deliberate incarceration of impregnated victims so that they would no longer be able to get abortions upon release.

Women's groups in both Serbia and Croatia also brought the news out as these victims turned up in refugee centers. The war in former Yugoslavia then became real for many women in the US and Europe. That old war crime, rape, was again being used by one side of warring males against the other. Women have begun to mobilize.

However, there are problems with how to respond: although there is evidence that Croatian and Bosnian/Muslim soldiers have sexually abused Serb women, all the information indicates that mass rape, along with starvation and massacre is a part of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" of non-Serbs from vast areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This has been the purpose of Serbian aggression against unarmed civilians. Serbia, with the fifth largest army in Europe, supplies the Bosnian Serbs while Bosnian Muslims are under an arms embargo on the whole region imposed by the U.N. back before the war started. It is this fundamentally unequal situation which has led to 100,000 deaths and an expected 200,000 more before the end of the winter. Already over a million of the original non-Serb population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 44% of which was Muslim, are refugees. The right-wing nationalist Croatian government has also taken advantage of this situation to carve out an ethnic Croatian enclave in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, some feel that directing all protest against the Serbs is playing into the hands of the Croatian or Bosnian male nationalists who aren't great champions of the human rights of women.

Serbian aggression and genocide are winning because the U.N., the European Community and the US do not want to stop aggression and genocide. Consequently many women feel that the issue of rape must mean taking sides.

Nevertheless, women can move together. Women's groups in ex-Yugoslavia are asking for help from US feminists.

For US feminist groups involved contact: Network of East West Women, Sonia Jaffe Robbins, Dept. of Journalism, NYU, 10 Washington Pl., NY, NY 10003, Tel: 212-998-7966, Fax: 212-995-4148.

Ex-Yugoslavia contacts:

The Autonomous Women's House in Zagreb, Croatia cares for rape victims--C/O ARK, Tkalciceva 38, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, Fax: 38-41-271-143.

The SOS Helpline serves women and children who are victims of violence--C/O Center for Anti-War Activities, Kralja Petra 46, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia, Tel: 38-11-322-226, Fax: 38-11-635-813.

Women in Black is a prominent group that holds anti-war vigils--C/O Stasa Zajovic, Dragoslava Povic 9/10, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia, Tel: 38-11-624-666.

Wanna throw a benefit for these groups? Contact: Neither East Nor West-NYC, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, Tel: 718-499-7720.

Anti-Fascist-Action Edinburgh

Anti-Fascist-Action has chapters throughout England and Scotland and is probably one of the most active groups around these days. They are dedicated to fighting fascists, such as the British National Party (B.N.P.), and nazis, through propaganda and, if necessary, physical confrontation. A.F.A. started the autumn with a successful action in London, where they prevented hundreds of nazi skinheads from getting to a Blood and Honour gig where the band Skrewdriver was playing.

I've been involved with A.F.A. Edinburgh for several months, but they formed about a year ago. In that time, they've plastered the city with stickers and graffiti (and wiped out B.N.P. graffiti), as well as held gigs at the Unemployed Worker's Center, had stalls at local clubs, picketed a bookstore for selling a book by a nazi revisionist historian, and written letters to the local B.N.P. members. A.F.A. Edinburgh

and Glasgow were also at an annual anti-racist march in Glasgow, which 25 seig-heiling B.N.P.-ers tried to disrupt. Most recently, we've put up posters all over town, with a picture of local B.N.P. members and their addresses and phone numbers, urging people to write nasty letters and harass them by phone. A.F.A. members have been known to make annoying phone calls to local fascists and nazi skins at odd hours of the morning.

A.F.A. is an alternative to mainstream/liberal groups, most of which won't even recognize the existence of fascism in Britain. Groups like the Anti-Nazi-League are mainly fronts for various left parties and do little besides carry placards at big demonstrations. A.F.A. especially concentrates on rooting out fascism in working class communities, the favorite recruiting place of the B.N.P. The mostly wealthy fascist leadership targets disaffected youth in such areas, turning

their anger away from the establishment and towards neighboring minority communities.

Not surprisingly, A.F.A. gets a lot of criticism from the so-called 'left'. An editorial in the left University of Edinburgh student newspaper called groups like A.F.A. "the violent fringe" and "leftist thugs." Other groups within Edinburgh have sharply criticized the anti-B.N.P. posters and our confrontational tactics. But it is a pipe dream to think that merely by distributing leaflets and holding demonstrations, the fascists will go away. This kind of thinking on the majority of the left has fed the recent rise in fascism and nazism in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and even Sweden, where Jewish cemeteries have been desecrated. Mass demonstrations are important, but the reality of fascists on the streets must be dealt with before they can terrorize the local community and recruit vulnerable youth. -Rachel Rinaldo (from *Love & Rage*).

The anarchist scene

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

EPIHEMERA BUTTONS INC. (POB 490, Phoenix, OR. 97535) has a 16-page button catalog displaying hundreds of designs and slogans, including a few anarchist ones. Send four 29¢ stamps for a copy.

LOVING MORE Annual Conference on Group Marriage and Expanded Family will take place August 20-22, 1993 in Berkeley, CA. Contact PEP (Box 6306, Captain Cook, HI. 96704; phone: 808-929-9691) for more information.

A DISTRIBUTION has moved to a new address at POB 2361, Landover Hills, MD. 20784, and no longer distributes a retail catalog. All sales are now wholesale, while requests for retail catalogs are being referred to Perennial Books (Box B14, Montague, MA. 01351). Send a 98¢ 6"x9" SASE for a copy of Perennial Books' large catalog.

EXTREME BOOKS (POB 11704, Portland, OR. 97211-0704; phone: 503-249-8090) has reprinted the first and only edition of the *Situationist International* "review of the American section of the S.I.," which was originally published in June 1969. This 46-page review contains short critiques of socialist economists Baran & Sweezy, critical theorist Herbert Marcuse and media-guru Marshall McLuhan, along with other short texts of some historical interest. Copies have a \$4.50 cover price, but it's not clear if the publishers are accepting retail orders.

AN ENLARGED *RANTS* ANTHOLOGY is currently being edited by Adam Parfrey and Bob Black, who are still looking for nominations or submissions. "Although this was not, and will not be, an 'anarchist' anthology per se...about 40% of the contributors [to the original edition] were anarchists." Contact Adam Parfrey at: Feral House, POB 3466, Portland, OR. 97208, or Bob Black at: POB 3142, Albany, NY. 12203-0142.

NORTHLAND POSTER COLLECTIVE (POB 7096, Minneapolis, MN. 55407) has published a free Summer 1993 tabloid catalog of posters, notecards, buttons and t-shirts.

THE MID-ATLANTIC ANARCHIST GATHERING will take place from Friday, July 30th till Monday, August 2nd in Philadelphia, PA. For information on housing & setting up workshops, or to send donations to cover the expected costs drop a line to: MA@G (POB 31889, Philadelphia, PA. 19143).

LEFT BANK DISTRIBUTION (4142 Brooklyn Ave. NE., Seattle, WA. 98105; Phone: 206-632-5870) has published a huge new 64-page Winter 1993 book catalog with probably the most comprehensive coverage of anarchist and related titles available in North America. Anyone who reads should have a copy of this catalog! The catalog is free, but it would be nice to send a buck to help with postage.

A DISTRIBUTION (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England; Phone/fax: 081-558-7732) has published a handsome 8-page catalog of books on anarchist, feminist and situationist topics.

LOOMPANICS UNLIMITED (POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA. 98368) has released another annual edition of its main catalog for 1993. With over 800 books on unusual topics, this 280-page catalog covers topics from cops to guns, bombs to sex and survival to sex. Especially welcome in this edition is the expanded coverage given to books on self-publishing, media and censorship, along with the traditional section on "Anarchism and Egoism." Copies are \$5.

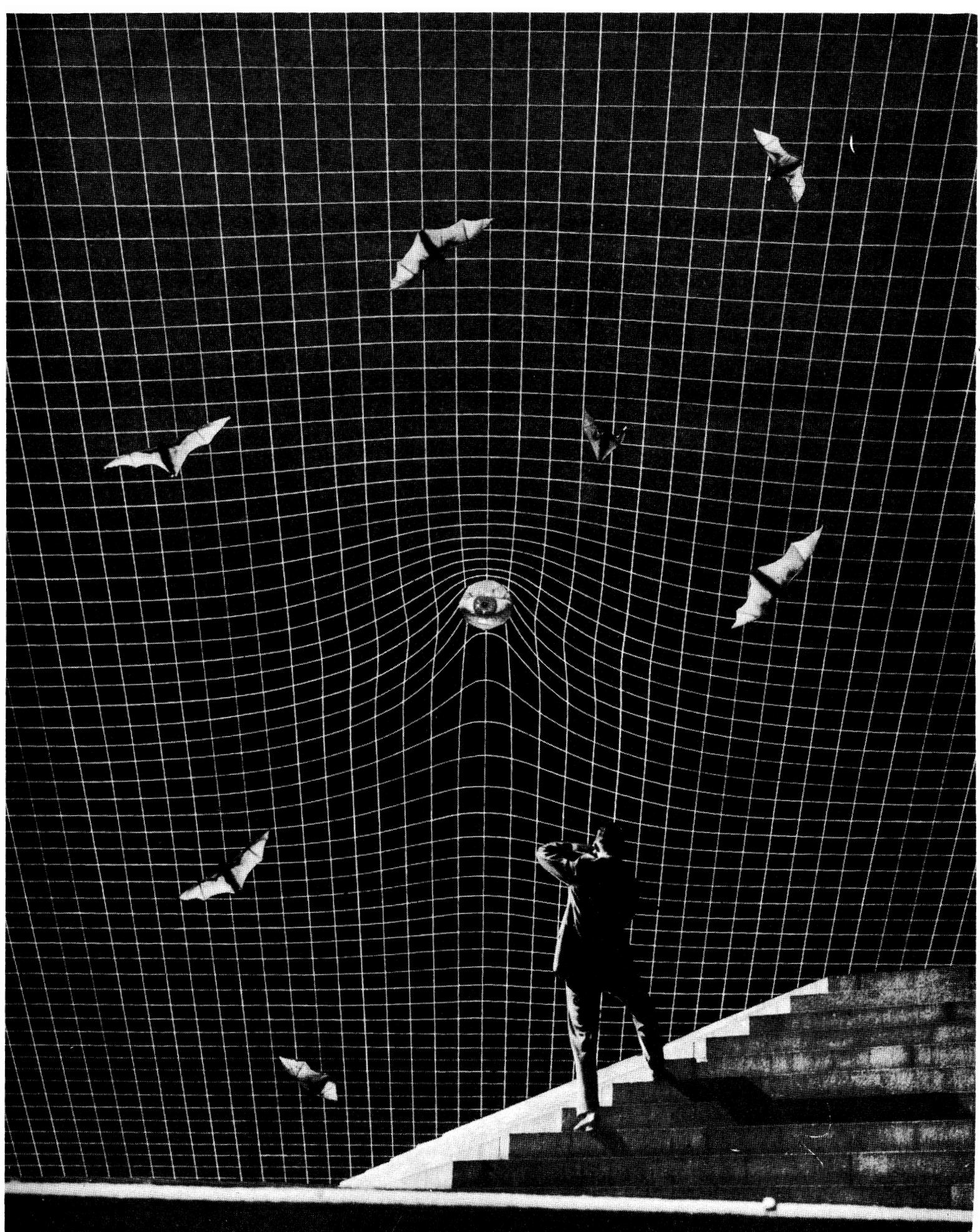
SOAPBOX JUNCTION (POB 597996, Chicago, IL. 60659) has released a 1993 *Action Resource Guide* containing a selection of alternative press periodicals, pamphlets and books, including a variety of anarchist titles. Also included are listings of zine and mail-art addresses. Copies are \$3.

PHILADELPHIA SOLIDARITY (422 W. Upsal St., Philadelphia, PA. 19119), emerging from ten years of relative inactivity, has released a 6-page catalog covering materials by Cornelius Castoriadis and other anti-hierarchical socialist publications. Send a 29¢ stamp for a copy.

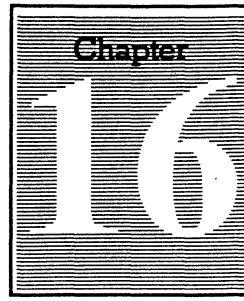
AUTONOMEDIA (POB 568 Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY. 11211-0568) is preparing an anthology of essays and possible visual material for a book (and electronic media) on the issues surrounding communications, intellectual property, work, and new information technologies. Topics to be addressed include: "The anti-copyright movement, State information control mechanisms,...Class struggle on the high-tech front,...The politics of mail art and free radio,...Electronic banking, digital cash, the end of 'money',...Primitivism and the anti-technology movement,...Surveillance & popular defense," etc. Send suggestions for contributions ASAP, or order soon for more information. The deadline for submissions is October 1st.

A FEW BACK ISSUES OF *ANARCHY: A Journal of Desire Armed* (C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446) are still available in bulk for free distribution at the cost of postage & packaging. We now have extras of several issues including #19, #20-21, #25 & #31, along with a very few extras of other issues. For those living in the U.S. we suggest you send about 10¢ to 25¢ each (depending on the size of the issue[s] requested and your distance from Missouri) for 50 to 150 copies. (Unless you live in the Midwest—where postage will be cheaper, send a *minimum* of \$7.50, and make any checks out to "C.A.L." only. Those outside the continental U.S. need to send much more to cover the higher costs of postage.) All copies will be marked "FREE" on the covers. To order bulk copies for resale, see the terms listed in the box on page 2.

If you have announcements concerning anarchist gatherings, new publications, or other anarchist activities or projects which our readers might find of use, you can send them to: Attn. Anarchist Scene, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. Please remember, for more information, or for ordering materials listed in this column, you must write to the addresses given above and not to C.A.L.



The Revolution of Everyday Life



by
Raoul
Vaneigem

*The impossibility of realization:
Power as sum of seductions*

The growth of civilization's discontents is now forcing every branch of therapeutics towards a new demonology. Just as, formerly, invocation, sorcery, possession, exorcism, black sabbaths, metamorphoses, talismans and all the rest were bound up with the suspect capacity for healing and hurting, so today (and more effectively) the apparatus for offering consolation to the oppressed—medicine, ideology, compensatory roles, consumer gadgetry, movements for social change—serves the oppressor and the oppressor alone. The *order of things* is sick: this is what our leaders would conceal at all costs. In a fine passage of *The Function of the Orgasm*, Wilhelm Reich relates how after long months of psychoanalytic treatment he managed to cure a young Viennese working woman. She was suffering from depression brought on by the conditions of her life and work. When she was recovered Reich sent her back home. A fortnight later she killed herself. Reich's intransigent honesty condemned him, as everyone knows, to exclusion from the psychoanalytic establishment, to isolation, delusion and death in prison: the duplicity of our neodemonologists cannot be exposed with impunity.

Those who organize the world organize both suffering and the anaesthetics for dealing with it; this much is common knowledge. Most people live like sleepwalkers, torn between the gratification of neurosis and the traumatic prospect of a return to real life. Things are now reaching the point, however, where the maintenance of survival calls for so many analgesics that the organism approaches saturation point. But the magical analogy is more apt here than the medical: practitioners of magic fully expect a backlash effect in such circum-

Where constraint breaks people, and mediation makes fools of them, the seduction of power is what makes them love their oppression. Because of it people give up their real riches: (a) for a cause that mutilates them [chapter twelve], (b) for an imaginary unity that fragments them [chapter thirteen], (c) for an appearance that reifies them [chapter fourteen], (d) for roles that wrest them from authentic life [chapter fifteen], (e) for a time whose passage defines and confines them [chapter sixteen].

The Fascination of Time

People are *bewitched* into believing that time slips away, and this belief is the basis of time actually slipping away. Time is the work of attrition of that adaptation to which people must resign themselves so long as they fail to change the world. Age is a role, an acceleration of 'lived' time on the plane of appearances, an attachment to *things*.

stances, and we should expect the same. It is because of the imminence of this upheaval that I compare the present conditioning of human beings to a massive bewitchment.

Bewitching of this kind presupposes a spatial network which links up the most distant objects sympathetically, according to specific laws: formal analogy, organic coexistence, functional symmetry, symbolic affiliation, etc. Such correspondences are established through the infinitely frequent association of given forms of behaviour with appropriate signals. In other words, through a generalized system of conditioning. The present vogue for loudly condemning the role of conditioning, propaganda, advertising and the mass media in modern society may be assumed to be a form of partial exorcism designed to reinforce a vaster and more essential mystification by distracting attention from it. Outrage at the gutter press goes hand in hand with subservience to the more elegant lies of posh journalism. Media, language,

time—these are the giant claws with which Power manipulates humanity and moulds it brutally to its own perspective. These claws are not very adept, admittedly, but their effectiveness is enormously increased by the fact that people are not aware that they can resist them, and often do not even know the extent to which they are already spontaneously doing so.

Stalin's show trials proved that it only takes a little patience and perseverance to get a man to accuse himself of every imaginable crime and appear in public begging to be executed. Now that we are aware of such techniques, and on our guard against them, how can we fail to see that the set of mechanisms controlling us uses the very same insidious persuasiveness—though with more powerful means at its disposal, and with greater persistence—when it lays down the law: "You are weak, you must grow old, you must die." Consciousness acquiesces, and the body follows suit. I am fond of a remark of Artaud's, though it must

be set in a materialist light: "We do not die because we have to die: we die because one day, and not so long ago, our consciousness was forced to deem it necessary."

Plants transplanted to an unfavourable soil die. Animals adapt to their environment. Human beings transform theirs. Thus death is not the same thing for plants, animals and humans. In favourable soil, the plant lives like an animal: it can adapt. Where man fails to change his surroundings, he too is in the situation of an animal. Adaptation is the law of the animal world.

According to Hans Selye, the theoretician of 'stress', the general syndrome of adaptation has three phases: the alarm reaction, the phase of resistance and the phase of exhaustion. In terms of real life he is still at the level of animal adaptation: spontaneous reactions in childhood, consolidation in maturity, exhaustion in old age. And today, the harder people try to find salvation in appearances, the more vigorously is it borne in upon them by the ephemeral and inconsistent nature of the spectacle that they live like dogs and die like bundles of hay. The day cannot be far off when men will have to face the fact that the social organization they have constructed to change the world according to their wishes no longer serves this purpose. For all this organization amounts to is a system of prohibitions preventing the creation of a higher form of organization and the use therein of the techniques of liberation and individual self-realization which have evolved throughout the history of private appropriation, of exploitation of man by man, of hierarchical authority.

We live in a closed, suffocating system. Whatever we gain in one sphere we lose in another. Death, for instance, though quantitatively defeated by modern medicine, has re-emerged qualitatively on the plane of survival. Adaptation has been democratized, made easier for everyone, at the price of abandoning the essential project, which is the adaptation of the world to human needs.

A struggle against death exists, of course, but it takes place within the limits set by the adaptation syndrome:

death is part of the cure for death. Significantly, therapeutic efforts concentrate mainly on the exhaustion phase, as though the main aim were to extend the stage of resistance as far as possible into old age. Thus the big guns are brought out only once the body is old and weak, because, as Reich understood well, any all-out attack on the attrition wreaked by the demands of adaptation would inevitably mean a direct onslaught on social organization—i.e., on that which

"Media, language, time—these are the giant claws with which Power manipulates humanity and moulds it brutally to its own perspective."

stands opposed to any transcendence of the principle of adaptation. Partial cures are preferred because they leave the overall social pathology untouched. But what will happen when the proliferation of such partial cures ends up spreading the malaise of inauthenticity to every corner of daily life? And when the essential role of exorcism and bewitchment in the maintenance of a sick society becomes plain for all to see?

* * *

The question "How old are you?" inevitably contains a reference to power. Dates themselves serve to pigeonhole and circumscribe us. Is not the passage of time always measured by reference to the establishment of some authority or other—in terms of the years accumulated since the installation of a god, messiah, leader or conquering city? To the aristocratic mind, moreover, such accumulated time was a measure of authority: the prepotency of the lord was increased both by his own age and by the antiquity of his lineage. At his death the noble bequeathed a vitality to his heirs which drew vigour from the past. By contrast, the bourgeoisie has no past; or at any rate it recognizes none inasmuch as its fragmented power no longer depends on any hereditary principle. The bourgeois

is thus reduced to aping the nobility: identification with forebears is sought in nostalgic fashion via the photos in the family album; identification with cyclical time, with the time of the eternal return, is feebly emulated by blind identification with a staccato succession of short spans of linear time.

This link between age and the starting-post of measurable time is not the only thing which betrays age's kinship with power. I am convinced that people's

measured age is nothing but a role. It involves a speeding up of lived time in the mode of non-life—on the plane, therefore, of appearances, and in accordance with the dictates of adaptation. To acquire power is to acquire 'age'. In earlier times only the 'aged' or 'elders', those old either in nobility or in experience, exercised power. Today even the young enjoy the dubious privilege of age.

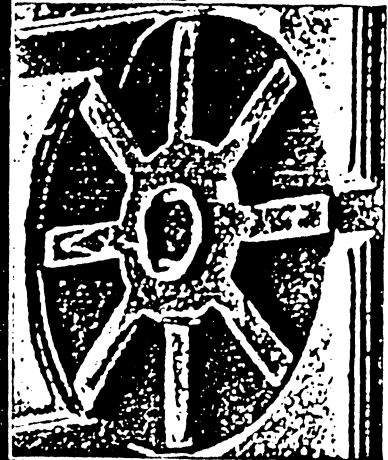
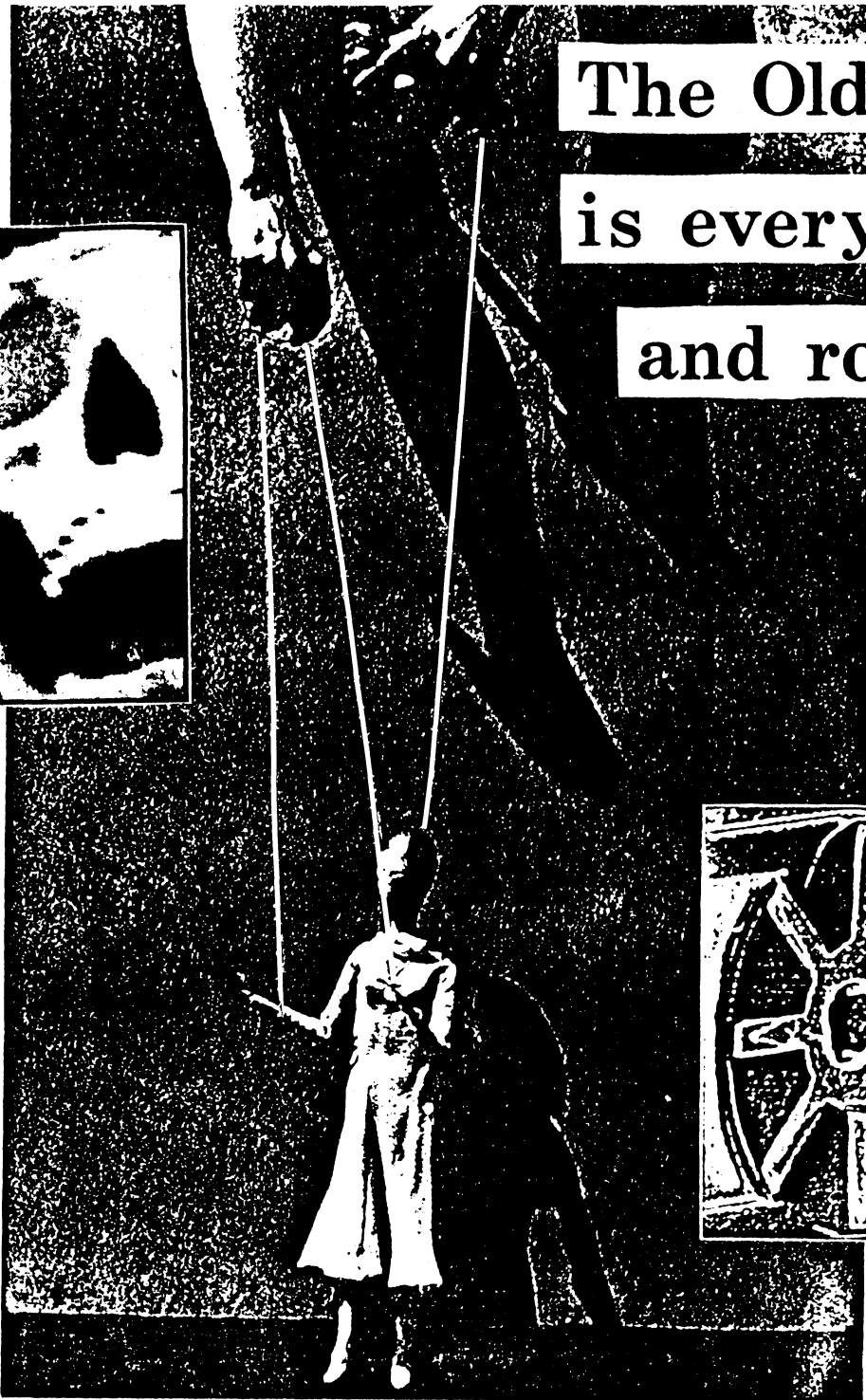
In fact consumer society, which invented the teenager as a new class of consumer, fosters premature senility: to consume is to be consumed by inauthenticity, nurturing appearance to the advantage of the spectacle and to the detriment of real life. The consumer is killed by the things he becomes attached to, because these things (commodities, roles) are dead.

Whatever you possess possesses you in return. Everything that makes you into an owner adapts you to the order of things—makes you old. Time—which-slips-away is what fills the void created by the absence of the self. The harder you run after time, the faster time goes: this is the law of consumption. Try to stop it, and it will wear you out and age you all the more easily. Time has to be caught on the wing, in the present—but the present has yet to be constructed.

We were born never to grow old, never to die. All we can hope for, however, is an awareness of having come too soon. And a healthy contempt for the future can at least ensure us a rich portion of life.

The complete text of the Left Bank/Rebel Press edition of Raoul Vaneigem's Revolution of Everyday Life is available from C.A.L. (POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446) for \$12.00 postpaid.

The Old World is everywhere and rotten.



Once again power has celebrated itself with another inauguration where more of the same was divined and insured. And this time the changing of the guard received quite an applause from many of the prisoners themselves: a sigh of relief from those who would rather be stabbed in the back than shot in the face. The enthralled have shown faith in a change in the weather while the meteorologists continued to forecast clear skies for slavery. Domination has completed itself once more by flaunting its flexibility as a cover-up for both its nightmarish reality and its real vulnerability. But a prettier shade of thanatoxic society satisfies the palate only of those who have lost their appetite for life, and while the blind congratulate the myopic on their lack of vision, those of us who have not forgotten the sweetness of indescribable freedoms will continue our crazy war against death's expanding rationality. We will follow our wakeful dreams and drink from our simplest desires. We will create festivals in the system's cracks and celebrate nothing but the adventure of our own lives. -(d)anger (POB 203, Portland, OR. 97207)



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

By Fredy Perlman

Nationalism was proclaimed dead several times during the present century:

- ◆ after the first world war, when the last empires of Europe, the Austrian and the Turkish, were broken up into self-determined nations, and no deprived nationalists remained, except the Zionists;

- ◆ after the Bolshevik coup d'état, when it was said that the bourgeoisie's struggles for self-determination were henceforth superseded by struggles of workingmen, who had no country;

- ◆ after the military defeat of Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany, when the genocidal corollaries of nationalism had been exhibited for all to see, when it was thought that nationalism as creed and as practice was permanently discredited.

Yet forty years after the military defeat of Fascists and National Socialists, we can see that nationalism did not only survive but was born again, underwent a revival. Nationalism has been revived not only by the so-called right, but also and primarily by the so-called left. After the national socialist war, nationalism ceased to be confined to conservatives, became the creed and practice of revolutionaries, and proved itself to be the only revolutionary creed that actually worked.

Leftist or revolutionary nationalists insist that their nationalism has nothing in common with the nationalism of fascists and national socialists, that theirs is a nationalism of the oppressed, that it offers personal as well as cultural liberation. The claims of the revolutionary nationalists have been broadcast to the world by the two oldest continuing hierarchic institutions surviving into our times: the Chinese State and, more recently, the Catholic Church. Currently nationalism is being touted as a strategy, science and theology of liberation, as a fulfillment of the Enlightenment's dictum that knowledge is power, as a proven answer to the question "What Is to be Done?"

To challenge these claims, and to see them in a context, I have to ask what nationalism is—not only the new revolutionary nationalism but also the old conservative one. I cannot start by defining the term, because nationalism is not a word with a static definition: it is a term that covers a sequence of different historical experiences. I'll start by giving a brief sketch of some of those experiences.

* * *

According to a common (and manipulable) misconception, imperialism is relatively recent, consists of the colonization of the

entire world, and is the last stage of capitalism. This diagnosis points to a specific cure: nationalism is offered as the antidote to imperialism: wars of national liberation are said to break up the capitalist empire.

This diagnosis serves a purpose, but it does not describe any event or situation. We come closer to the truth when we stand this conception on its head and say that imperialism was the first stage of capitalism, that the world was subsequently colonized by nation-states, and that nationalism is the dominant, the current, and (hopefully) the last stage of capitalism. The facts of the case were not discovered yesterday; they are as familiar as the misconception that denies them.

It has been convenient, for various good reasons, to forget that, until recent centuries, the dominant powers of Eurasia were not nation-states but empires. A Celestial Empire ruled by the Ming dynasty, an Islamic Empire ruled by the Ottoman dynasty and a Catholic Empire ruled by the Hapsburg dynasty vied with each other for possession of the known world. Of the three, the Catholics were not the first imperialists but the last. The Celestial Empire of the Mings ruled over most of eastern Asia and had dispatched vast commercial fleets overseas a century before sea-borne Catholics invaded Mexico.

The celebrants of the Catholic feat forget that, between 1420 and 1430, Chinese imperial bureaucrat Cheng Ho commanded naval expeditions of 70,000 men and sailed, not only to nearby Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon, but as far from home ports as the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and Africa. The celebrants of Catholic conquistadores also belittle the imperial feats of the Ottomans, who conquered all but the westernmost provinces of the former Roman Empire, ruled over North Africa, Arabia, the Middle East and half of Europe, controlled the Mediterranean and hammered on the gates of Vienna. The imperial Catholics set out westward, beyond the boundaries of the known world, in order to escape from encirclement.

Nevertheless, it was the imperial Catholics who "discovered America," and their genocidal destruction and plunder of their 'discovery' changed the balance of forces among Eurasia's empires.

Would imperial Chinese or Turks have been less lethal had they "discovered America"? All three empires regarded aliens as less than human and therefore as legitimate prey. The Chinese considered others barbarians; the Muslims and Catholics considered others unbelievers. The term unbeliever is not as brutal as the term barbarian, since an unbeliever ceases to be legitimate prey until she or he is made over by the civilizer.

The term unbeliever, and the morality behind it, conflicted with the practice of the Catholic invaders. The contradiction between professions and acts was spotted by a very early critic,

"We come closer to the truth when we... say that imperialism was the first stage of capitalism, that the world was subsequently colonized by nation-states, and that nationalism is the dominant, the current, and (hopefully) the last stage of capitalism."

a priest called Las Casas, who noted that the conversion ceremonies were pretexts for separating and exterminating the unconverted, and that the converts themselves were not treated as fellow Catholics but as slaves.

The critiques of Las Casas did little more than embarrass the Catholic Church and Emperor. Laws were passed and investigators were dispatched, but to little effect, because the two aims of the Catholic expeditions, conversion and plunder, were contradictory. Most churchmen reconciled themselves to saving the gold and damning the souls. The Catholic Emperor increasingly depended on the plundered wealth to pay for the imperial household, army, and for the fleets that carried the plunder.

Plunder continued to take precedence over conversion, but the Catholics continued to be embarrassed. Their ideology was not altogether suited to their practice. The Catholics made much of their conquests of Aztecs and Incas, whom they described as empires with institutions similar to those of the Hapsburg Empire and the religious practices as demonic as those of the official enemy, the heathen empire of the Ottoman Turks. But the Catholics did not make much of the wars of

extermination against communities that had neither emperors nor standing armies. Such feats, although perpetrated regularly, conflicted with the ideology and were less than heroic.

The contradiction between the invaders' professions and their acts was not resolved by the imperial Catholics. It was resolved by harbingers of a new social form, the nation-state. Two harbingers appeared during the same year, 1561, when one of the Emperor's overseas adventures proclaimed his independence from the empire, and several of the Emperor's bankers and provisioners launched a war of independence.

The overseas adventurer, Lope de Aguirre, failed to mobilize support and was executed.

The Emperor's bankers and provisioners mobilized the inhabitants of several imperial provinces and succeeded in severing the provinces from the empire (provinces which were later called Holland).

These two events were not yet struggles of national liberation. They were harbingers of things to come. They were also reminders of things past. In the bygone Roman Empire, Praetorian guards had been engaged to protect the Emperor; the guards had assumed ever more of the Emperor's functions and had eventually wielded the imperial power instead of the Emperor. In the Arabic Islamic Empire, the Caliph had engaged Turkish bodyguards to protect his person; the Turkish guards, like the earlier Praetorians, had assumed ever more of the Caliph's functions and had eventually taken over the imperial palace as well as the imperial office.

Lope de Aguirre and the Dutch grandees were not the

Hapsburg monarch's bodyguards, but the Andean colonial adventurer and the Dutch commercial and financial houses did wield important imperial functions. These rebels, like the earlier Roman and Turkish guards, wanted to free themselves of the spiritual indignity and material burden of serving the Emperor; they already wielded the Emperor's powers; the Emperor was nothing more to them than a parasite.

Colonial adventurer Aguirre was apparently inept as a rebel; his time had not yet come.

The Dutch grandees were not inept, and their time had come. They did not overthrow the empire; they rationalized it. The Dutch commercial and financial houses already possessed much of the New World's wealth; they had received it as payment for provisioning the Emperor's fleets, armies and household. They now set out to plunder colonies in their own name and for their own benefit, unshackled by a parasitic overlord. And since they were not Catholics but Calvinist Protestants, they were not embarrassed by any contradiction between professions and acts. They made no profession of saving souls. Their Calvinism told them that an inscrutable God had saved or damned all souls at the beginning of Time and no Dutch priest could alter God's plan.

The Dutch were not crusaders; they confined themselves to unheroic, humorless, and businesslike plunder, calculated and regularized; the plundering fleets departed and returned on schedule. The fact that the plundered aliens were unbelievers became less important than the fact that they were not Dutchmen.

West Eurasian forerunners of nationalism coined the term savages. This term was a synonym for the east Eurasian Celestial Empire's term barbarians. Both terms designated human beings as legitimate prey.

* * *

During the following two centuries, the invasions, subjugations and expropriations initiated by the Hapsburgs were imitated by other European royal houses.

Seen through the lenses of nationalist historians, the initial colonizers as well as their later imitators look like nations: Spain, Holland, England, France. But seen from a vantage point in the past, the colonizing powers are Hapsburgs, Tudors, Stuarts, Bourbons, Oranges—namely dynasties identical to the dynastic families that had been feuding for wealth and power ever since the fall of the western Roman empire. The invaders can be seen from both vantage points because a transition was taking place. The entities were no longer mere feudal estates, but they were not yet full-fledged nations; they already possessed some, but not yet all, the attributes of a nation-state. The most notable missing element was the national army. Tudors and Bourbons already manipulated the Englishness or Frenchness of their subjects, especially during wars against another monarch's subjects. But neither Scots and Irishmen, not Corsicans and Provencals, were recruited to fight and die for "the love of their country." War was an onerous feudal burden, a *corvée*; the only patriots were patriots of Eldorado.

The tenets of what was going to become the nationalist creed did not appeal to the ruling dynasts, who clung to their own tried and tested tenets. The new tenets appealed to the dynast's higher servants, his money-lenders, spice-vendors, military suppliers and colony-plunderers. These people, like

Lope de Aguirre and the Dutch grandees, like earlier Roman and Turkish guards, wielded key functions yet remained servants. Many if not most of them burned to shake off the indignity and the burden, to rid themselves of the parasitic overlord, to carry on the exploitation of countrymen and the plunder of colonials in their own name and for their own benefit.

Later known as the bourgeoisie or the middle class, these people had become rich and powerful since the days of the first westward-bound fleets. A portion of their wealth had come from the plundered colonies, as payment for the services they had sold to the Emperor; this sum of wealth would later be called a primitive accumulation of capital. Another portion of their wealth had come from the plunder of their own local countrymen and neighbors by a method later known as capitalism; the method was not altogether new, but it became very widespread after the middle classes got their hands on the New World's silver and gold.

These middle classes wielded important powers, but they were not yet experienced in wielding the central political power. In England they overthrew a monarch and proclaimed a commonwealth but, fearing that the popular energies they had mobilized against the upper class could turn against the middle class, they soon restored another monarch of the same dynastic house.

Nationalism did not really come into its own until the late 1700s when two explosions, thirteen years apart, reversed the relative standing of the two upper classes and permanently changed the political geography of the globe. In 1776, colonial merchants and adventurers reenacted Aguirre's feat of proclaiming their independence from the ruling overseas dynast, outdid their predecessor by mobilizing their fellow-settlers, and succeeded in severing themselves from the Hanoverian British Empire. And in 1789, enlightened merchants and scribes outdid their Dutch forerunners by mobilizing, not a few outlying provinces, but the entire subject population, by overthrowing and slaying the ruling Bourbon monarch, and by remaking all feudal bonds into national bonds. These two events marked the end of an era. Henceforth even the surviving dynasts hastily or gradually became nationalists, and the remaining royal estates took on ever more of the attributes of nation-states.

* * *

The two eighteenth century revolutions were very different, and they contributed different and even conflicting elements to the creed and practice of nationalism. I do not intend to analyze these events here, but only to remind the reader of some of the elements.

Both rebellions successfully broke the bonds of fealty to a monarchic house, and both ended with the establishment of capitalist nation-states, but between the first act and the last they had little in common. The main animators of both revolts were familiar with the rationalistic doctrines of the Enlightenment, but the self-styled Americans confined themselves to political problems, largely to the problem of establishing a state machinery that could take up where King George left off. Many of the French went much further; they posed the problem of restructuring not only the state but all of society; they challenged not only the bond of subject to monarch, but also the bond of slave to master, a bond that remained sacred

to the Americans. Both groups were undoubtedly familiar with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's observation that human beings were born free, yet everywhere were bound in chains, but the French understood the chains more profoundly and made a greater effort to break them.

As influenced by rationalistic doctrines as Rousseau himself had been, French revolutionaries tried to apply social reason to the human environment in the same way that natural reason, or science, was starting to be applied to the natural environment. Rousseau had worked at his desk; he had tried to establish social justice of paper, by entrusting human affairs to an entity that embodied the general will. The revolutionaries agitated to establish social justice not only on paper, but in the midst of mobilized and armed human beings, many of them enraged, most of them poor.

Rousseau's abstract entity took the concrete form of a Committee of Public Safety (or Public Health), a police organization that considered itself the embodiment of the general will. The virtuous committee members conscientiously applied the findings of reason to human affairs. They considered themselves the nation's surgeons. They carved their personal obsessions into society by means of the state's razor blade.

The application of science to the environment took the form of systematic terror. The instrument of Reason and Justice was the guillotine.

The Terror decapitated the former rulers and then turned on the revolutionaries.

Fear stimulated a reaction that swept away the Terror as well as the Justice. The mobilized energy of bloodthirsty patriots was sent abroad, to impose enlightenment on foreigners by force, to expand the nation into an empire. The provisioning of national armies was far more lucrative than the provisioning of feudal armies ever had been, and former revolutionaries became rich and powerful members of the middle class, which was now the top class, the ruling class. The terror as well as the wars bequeathed a fateful legacy to the creed and practice of later nationalisms.

The legacy of the American revolution was of an altogether different kind. The Americans were less concerned with justice, more concerned with property.

The settler-invaders on the northern continent's eastern shore needed George of Hanover no more urgently than Lope de Aguirre had needed Philip of Hapsburg. Or rather, the rich and powerful among the settlers needed King George's apparatus to protect their wealth, but not to gain it. If they could organize a repressive apparatus on their own, they would not need King George at all.

Confident of their ability to launch an apparatus of their

own, the colonial slave-holders, land-speculators, produce-exporters and bankers found the King's taxes and acts intolerable. The most intolerable of the King's acts was the act that temporarily banned unauthorized incursions into the lands of the continent's original inhabitants; the King's advisers had their eyes on the animal furs supplied by indigenous hunters; the revolutionary land-speculators had theirs on the hunters' lands.

Unlike Aguirre, the federated colonizers of the north succeeded in establishing their own independent repressive apparatus, and they did this by stirring up a minimum of cravings for justice; their aim was to overthrow the King's

power, not their own. Rather than rely excessively on their less fortunate fellow-settlers or backwoods squatters, not to speak of their slaves, these revolutionaries relied on mercenaries and on indispensable aid from the Bourbon monarch who would be overthrown a few years later by more virtuous revolutionaries.

The North American colonizers broke the traditional bonds of fealty and feudal obligation but, unlike the French, they only gradually replaced the traditional bonds with bonds of patriotism and

nationhood. They were not quite a nation; their reluctant mobilization of the colonial countryside had not fused them into one, and the multi-lingual, multi-cultural and socially divided underlying population resisted such a fusion. The new repressive apparatus was not tried and tested, and it did not command the undivided loyalty of the underlying population, which was not yet patriotic. Something else was needed. Slave-masters who had overthrown their king feared that their slaves could similarly overthrow the masters; the insurrection in Haiti made this fear less than hypothetical. And although they no longer feared being pushed into the sea by the continent's indigenous inhabitants, the traders and speculators worried about their ability to thrust further into the continent's interior.

The American settler-invaders had recourse to an instrument that was not, like the guillotine, a new invention, but that was just as lethal. This instrument would later be called Racism, and it would become embedded in nationalist practice. Racism, like later products of practical Americans, was a pragmatic principle; its content was not important; what mattered was the fact that it worked.

Human beings were mobilized in terms of their lowest and most superficial common denominator, and they responded. People who had abandoned their villages and families, who were forgetting their languages and losing their cultures, who were all but depleted of their sociability, were manipulated into considering their skin color a substitute for all they had lost. They were made proud of something that was neither a

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Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA).

personal feat nor even, like language, a personal acquisition. They were fused into a nation of white men. (White women and children existed only as scalped victims, as proofs of the bestiality of the hunted prey.) The extent of the depletion is revealed by the nonentities the white men shared with each other: white blood, white thoughts, and membership in a white race. Debtors, squatters and servants, as white men, had everything in common with bankers, land speculators and plantation owners, nothing in common with Redskins, Blackskins or Yellowskins. Fused by such a principle, they could also be mobilized by it, turned into white mobs. Lynch mobs, "Indian fighters."

Racism had initially been one among several methods of mobilizing colonial armies, and although it was exploited more fully in America than it ever had been before, it did not supplant the other methods but rather supplemented them. The victims of the invading pioneers were still described as unbelievers, as heathen. But the pioneers, like the earlier

Dutch, were largely Protestant Christians, and they regarded heathenism as something to be punished, not remedied. The victims also continued to be designated as savages, cannibals and primitives, but these terms, too, ceased to be diagnoses of conditions that could be remedied, and tended to become synonyms of non-white, a condition that could not be remedied. Racism was an ideology perfectly suited to a practice of enslavement and extermination.

The lynch-mob approach, the ganging-up on victims defined as inferior, appealed to bullies whose humanity was stunted and who lacked any notion of fair play. But this approach did not appeal to everyone. American businessmen, part hustlers and part confidence men, always had something for everyone. For the numerous Saint Georges with some notion of honor and great thirst for heroism, the enemy was depicted somewhat differently; for them there were nations as rich and powerful as their own in the trans-montane woodlands and on the shores of the Great Lakes.

The celebrants of the heroic feats of imperial Spaniards had found empires in central Mexico and on top of the Andes. The celebrants of nationalist American heroes found nations; they transformed desperate resistances of an-archic villagers into international conspiracies masterminded by military archons such as General Pontiac and General Tecumseh; they peopled the woodlands with formidable national leaders, efficient general staffs, and armies of uncountable patriotic troops; they projected their own repressive structures into the unknown; they saw an exact copy of themselves, with all the colors reversed—something like a photographic negative. The enemy thus became an equal in terms of structure, power and aims. War against such an enemy was not only fair play; it was a dire necessity, a matter of life and death. The enemy's other attributes—the heathenism, the savagery, the cannibalism—made the tasks of expropriating, enslaving and exterminating all the more urgent, made these feats all the more heroic.

The repertory of the nationalist program was now more or less complete. This statement might baffle a reader who cannot yet see any "real nations" in the field. The United States was still a collection of multilingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural 'ethnicities', and the French nation had overflowed its boundaries and turned itself into a Napoleonic empire. The reader might be trying to apply a definition of a nation as an organized territory consisting of people who share a common language, religion and customs, or at least one of the three. Such a definition, clear, pat and static, is not a description of the phenomenon but an apology for it, a justification. The phenomenon was not a static definition but a dynamic process. The common language, religion and customs, like the white blood of the American colonizers, were mere pretexts, instruments for mobilizing armies. The culmination of the process was not an enshrinement of the commonalities, but a depletion, a total loss of language, religion and customs; the inhabitants of a nation spoke the language of capital, worshipped on the altar of the state and confined their customs to those permitted by the national police.

* * *

Nationalism is the opposite of imperialism only in the realm of definitions. In practice, nationalism was a methodology for conduction the empire of capital.

The continual increase of capital, often referred to as material progress, economic development or industrialization, was the main activity of the middle classes, the so-called bourgeoisie, because capital was what they owned, it was their property; the upper classes owned estates.

The discovery of new worlds of wealth had enormously enriched these middle classes, but had also made them vulnerable. The kings and nobles who initially gathered the new world's plundered wealth resented losing all but a few trophies to their middle class merchants. This could not be helped. The wealth did not arrive in usable forms; the merchants supplied the king with things he could use, in exchange for the plundered treasures. Even so, monarchs who saw themselves grow poor while their merchants grew rich were not above using their armed retainers to plunder the wealthy merchants. Consequently the middle classes suffered continual injuries under the old regime—injuries to their property. The king's army and police were not reliable protectors of middle class property, and the powerful merchants, who already

operated the business of the empire, took measures to put an end to the instability; they took the politics in hand as well. They could have hired private armies, and they often did. But as soon as instruments for mobilizing national armies and national police forces appeared on the horizon, the injured businessmen had recourse to them. The main virtue of a national armed force is that it guarantees that a patriotic servant will war alongside his own boss against an enemy boss's servant.

The stability assured by a national repressive apparatus gave the owners something like a hothouse in which their capital could grow, increase, multiply. The term 'grow' and its corollaries come from the capitalists' own vocabulary. These people think of a unit of capital as a grain or seed which they invest in fertile soil. In spring they see a plant grow from each seed. In summer they harvest so many seeds from each plant that, after paying for the soil, sunshine and rain, they still have more seeds than they had initially. The following year they enlarge their field, and gradually the whole countryside becomes improved. In reality, the initial 'grains' are money; the sunshine and rain are the expended energies of laborers; the plants are factories, workshops and mines, the harvested fruits are commodities, bits of processed world; and the excess or additional grains, the profits, are emoluments which the capitalist keeps for himself instead of dividing them up among the workers.

The process as a whole consisted of the processing of natural substances into saleable items or commodities, and of the incarceration of wage workers in the processing plants.

The marriage of Capital with Science was responsible for the great leap forward into what we live in today. Pure scientists discovered the components into which the natural environment could be decomposed; investors placed their bets on the various methods of decomposition; applied scientists or managers saw to it that the wage workers in their charge carried the project through. Social scientists sought ways to make the workers less human, more efficient and machine-like. Thanks to science, capitalists were able to transform much of the natural environment into a processed world, an artifice, and to reduce most human beings into efficient tenders of the artifice.

The process of capitalist production was analyzed and criticized by many philosophers and poets, most notably by Karl Marx,¹ whose critiques animated, and continue to animate, militant social movements. Marx had a significant blind spot; most of his disciples, and many militants who were not his disciples, built their platforms on that blind spot. Marx was an enthusiastic supporter of the bourgeoisie's struggle for liberation from feudal bonds—who was not an enthusiast in those days? He, who observed that the ruling ideas of an epoch were the ideas of the ruling class, shared many of the ideas of the newly empowered middle class. He was an enthusiast of the Enlightenment, of rationalism, of material progress. It was Marx who insightfully pointed out that every time a worker reproduced his labor power, every minute he devoted to his assigned task, he enlarged the material and social apparatus that dehumanized him. Yet the same Marx was an enthusiast for the application of science to production.

Marx made a thorough analysis of the production process as an exploitation of labor, but he made only cursory and reluctant comments about the prerequisite for capitalist production,



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and the initial capital that made the process possible.² Without the initial capital, there could have been no investments, no production, no great leap forward. This prerequisite was analyzed by the early Soviet Russian marxist Preobrazhensky, who borrowed several insights from the Polish marxist Rosa Luxemburg to formulate his theory of primitive accumulation.³ By primitive, Preobrazhensky meant the basement of the capitalist edifice, the foundation, the prerequisite. This prerequisite cannot emerge from the capitalist production process itself, if that process is not yet under way. It must, and does, come from outside the production process. It comes from the plundered colonies. It comes from the expropriated and exterminated populations of the colonies. In earlier days, when there were no overseas colonies, the first capital, the prerequisite for capitalist production, had been squeezed out of internal colonies, out of plundered peasants whose lands were enclosed and crops requisitioned, out of expelled Jews and Muslims whose possessions were expropriated.

The primitive or preliminary accumulation of capital is not something that happened once, in the distant past, and never after. It is something that continues to accompany the capital-

ist production process, and is an integral part of it. The process described by Marx is responsible for the regular profits are periodically destroyed by crises endemic to the system; new injections of preliminary capital are the only known cure to the crises. Without an ongoing primitive accumulation of capital, the production process would stop; each crisis would tend to become permanent.

Genocide, the rationally calculated extermination of human populations designated as legitimate prey, has not been an aberration in an otherwise peaceful march of progress. Genocide has been a prerequisite of that progress. This is why national armed forces were indispensable to the wielders of capital. These forces did not only protect the owners of capital from the insurrectionary wrath of their own exploited wage workers. These forces also captured the holy grail, the magic lantern, the preliminary capital, by battering the gates of resisting or unresisting outsiders, by looting, deporting and murdering.

The footprints of the national armies are the traces of the march of progress. These patriotic armies were, and still are, the seventh wonder of the world. In them, the wolf lay

alongside the lamb, the spider alongside the fly. In them, exploited workers were the chums of exploiters, indebted peasants the chums of creditors, suckers the chums of hustlers in a companionship stimulated not by love but by hatred—hatred of potential sources of preliminary capital designated as unbelievers, savages, inferior races.

Human communities as variegated in their ways and beliefs as birds are in feathers were invaded, despoiled and at last exterminated beyond imagination's grasp. The clothes and artifacts of the vanished communities were gathered up as trophies and displayed in museums as additional traces of the march of progress; the extinct beliefs and ways became the curiosities of yet another of the invaders' many sciences. The expropriated fields, forests and animals were garnered as bonanzas, as preliminary capital, as the precondition for the production process that was to turn the fields into farms, the trees into lumber, the animals into hats, the minerals into munitions, the human survivors into cheap labor. Genocide was, and still is, the precondition, the cornerstone and ground work of the military-industrial complexes, of the processed environments, of the worlds of offices and parking lots.

* * *

Nationalism was so perfectly suited to its double task, the domestication of workers and the despoliation of aliens, that it appealed to everyone—everyone, that is, who wielded or aspired to wield a portion of capital.

During the nineteenth century, especially during its second half, every owner of investable capital discovered that he had roots among the mobilizable countryfolk who spoke his mother's tongue and worshipped his father's gods. The fervor of such a nationalist was transparently cynical, since he was the countryman who no longer had roots among his mother's or father's kin: he found his salvation in his savings, prayed to his investments and spoke the language of cost accounting. But he had learned, from Americans and Frenchmen, that although he could not mobilize the countryfolk as loyal servants, clients and customers, he could mobilize them as loyal fellow-Catholics, Orthodox or Protestants. Languages, religions and customs became welding materials for the construction of nation-states.

The welding materials were means, not ends. The purpose of the national entities was not to develop languages, religions or customs, but to develop national economies, to turn the countryfolk into workers and soldiers, to turn the motherland into mines and factories, to turn dynastic estates into capitalist enterprises. Without the capital, there could be no munitions or supplies, no national army, no nation.

Savings and investments, market research and cost accounting, the obsessions of the rationalistic former middle classes,

became the ruling obsessions. These rationalistic obsessions became not only sovereign but also exclusive. Individuals who enacted other obsessions, irrational ones, were put away in madhouses, asylums.

The nations usually were but need no longer have been monotheistic; the former god or gods had lost their importance except as welding materials. The nations were mono-obsessive, and if monotheism served the ruling obsession, then it too was mobilized.

World War I marked the end of one phase of the nationalizing process, the phase that had begun with the American and French revolutions, the phase that had been announced much

earlier by the declaration of Aguirre and the revolt of the Dutch grandees. The conflicting claims of old and newly-constituted nations were in fact the causes of that war. Germany, Italy and Japan, as well as Greece, Serbia and colonial Latin America, had already taken on most of the attributes of their nationalistic predecessors, had become national empires, monarchies and republics, and the more powerful of the new arrivals aspired to take on the main missing attribute, the

colonial empire. During that war, all the mobilizable components of the two remaining dynastic empires, the Ottoman and the Hapsburg, constituted themselves into nations. When bourgeoisies with different languages and religions, such as Turks and Armenians, claimed the same territory, the weaker were treated like so-called American Indians; they were exterminated. National Sovereignty and Genocide were—and still are—corollaries.

Common language and religion appear to be corollaries of nationhood, but only because of an optical illusion. As welding materials, languages and religions were used when they served their purpose, discarded when they did not. Neither multi-lingual Switzerland nor multi-religious Yugoslavia were banned from the family of nations. The shapes of noses and the color of hair could also have been used to mobilize patriots—and later were. The shared heritages, roots and commonalities had to satisfy only one criterion, the criterion of American-style pragmatic reason: did they work? Whatever worked was used. The shared traits were important, not because of their cultural, historical or philosophical content, but because they were useful for organizing a police to protect the national property and for mobilizing an army to plunder the colonies.

Once a nation was constituted, human beings who lived on the national territory but did not possess the national traits could be transformed into internal colonies, namely into sources of preliminary capital. Without preliminary capital, no nation could become a great nation, and nations that aspired to greatness but lacked adequate overseas colonies could resort to plundering, exterminating and expropriating those of their countrymen who did not possess the national traits.

The establishment of nation-states was greeted with euphoric enthusiasm by poets as well as peasants who thought their muses or their gods had at last descended to earth. The main wet blankets amidst the waving banners and flying confetti were the former rulers, the colonized, and the disciples of Karl Marx.

The overthrown and the colonized were unenthusiastic for obvious reasons.

The disciples of Marx were unenthusiastic because they had learned from the master that national liberation meant national exploitation, that the national government was the executive committee of the national capitalist class, that the nation had nothing for workingmen, who were not themselves workingmen but were as bourgeois as the ruling capitalists, proclaimed that the workingmen had no country and organized themselves into an International. This International split into three, and each International moved increasingly into the field of Marx's blind spot.

The First International was carried off by Marx's one-time Russian translator and then antagonist Bakunin, an inveterate rebel who had been a fervent nationalist until he'd learned about exploitation from Marx. Bakunin and his companions, rebels against all authorities, also rebelled against the authority of Marx; Bakunin and his companions, rebels against all authorities, also rebelled against the authority of Marx; they suspected Marx of trying to turn the International into a state as repressive as the feudal and national combined. Bakunin and his followers were unambiguous in their rejection of all states, but they were ambiguous about capitalist enterprise. Even more than Marx, they glorified science, celebrated material progress and hailed industrialization. Being rebels, they considered every fight a good fight, but the best of all was the fight against the bourgeoisie's former enemies, the fight against feudal landlords and the Catholic Church. Thus the Bakuninist International flourished in places like Spain, where the bourgeoisie had not completed its struggle for independence but had, instead, allied itself with feudal barons and the Church for protection from insurgent workers and peasants. The Bakuninists fought to complete the bourgeois revolution without and against the bourgeoisie. They called themselves anarchists and disdained all states, but did not begin to explain how they would procure the preliminary or the subsequent industry, progress and science, namely the capital, without an army and a police. They were never given a real chance to resolve their contradiction in practice, and present day Bakuninists have still not resolved it, have not even become aware that there is a contradiction between anarchy and industry.

The Second International, less rebellious than the first, quickly came to terms with capital as well as the state. Solidly entrenched in Marx's blind spot, the professors of this organization did not become enmeshed in any Bakuninist contradiction. It was obvious to them that the exploitation and the plunder were necessary conditions for the material progress, and they realistically reconciled themselves to what could not be helped. All they asked for was a greater share of the benefits for the workingmen, and offices in the political establishment for themselves, as the workingmen's representatives. Like the good unionists who preceded and followed

them, the socialist professors were embarrassed by "the colonial question," but their embarrassment, like Philip Hapsburg's, merely gave them bad consciences. In time, imperial German socialists, royal Danish socialists and republican French socialists even ceased to be internationalists.

The Third International did not only come to terms with capital and the state; it made them its goal. This international was not formed by rebellious or dissenting intellectuals; it was created by a state, the Russian state, after the Bolshevik Party installed itself in that state's offices. The main activity of this international was to advertise the feats of the revamped Russian state, of its ruling party, and of the party's founder, a man who called himself Lenin. The feats of that party and founder were indeed momentous, but the advertisers did their best to hide what was most momentous about them.

* * *

The first world war had left two vast empires in a quandary. The Celestial Empire of China, the oldest continuous state in the world, and the Empire of the Tsars, a much more recent operation, hovered shakily between the prospect of turning themselves into nation-states and the prospect of decomposing into smaller units, like their Ottoman and Hapsburg counterparts had done.

Lenin resolved this quandary for Russia. Is such a thing possible? Marx had observed that a single individual could not change circumstances; he could only avail himself of them. Marx was probably right. Lenin's feat was not to change circumstances, but to avail himself of them in an extraordinary manner. The feat was monumental in its opportunism.

Lenin was a Russian bourgeois who cursed the weakness and ineptitude of the Russian bourgeoisie.⁴ An enthusiast for capitalist development, an ardent admirer of American-style progress, he did not make common cause with those he cursed, but rather with their enemies, with the Anti-capitalist disciples of Marx. He availed himself of Marx's blind spot to transform Marx's critique of the capitalist production process into a manual for developing capital, a "how-to-do-it" guide. Marx's studies of exploitation and immiseration became food for the famished, a cornucopia, a virtual horn of plenty. American businessmen had already marketed urine as spring water, but no American confidence man had yet managed an inversion of such magnitude.

No circumstances were changed. Every step of the inversion was carried out with available circumstances, with tried and tested methods. Russian countryfolk could not be mobilized in terms of their Russianness or orthodoxy or whiteness, but they could be, and were, mobilized in terms of their exploitation, their oppression, their ages of suffering under the despotism of the Tsars. Oppression and exploitation became welding materials. The long sufferings under the Tsars were used in the same way and for the same purpose as the scalplings of white women and children had been used by Americans; they were used to organize people into fighting units, into embryos of the national army and the national police.

The presentation of the dictator and of the Party's central committee as a dictatorship of the liberated proletariat seemed to be something new, but even this was new only in the words that were used. This was something as old as the Pharaohs and Lugals of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, who had been chosen by the god to lead the people, who had embodied the

people in their dialogues with the god. This was a tried and tested gimmick of rulers. Even if the ancient precedents were temporarily forgotten, a more recent precedent had been provided by the French Committee of Public Health, which had presented itself as the embodiment of the nation's general will.

The goal, communism, the overthrow and supersession of capitalism, also seemed something new, seemed to be a change of circumstances. But only the word was new. the goal of the dictator of the proletariat was still American-style progress, capitalist development, electrification, rapid mass transportation, science, the processing of the natural environment. The goal was the capitalism that the weak and inept Russian bourgeoisie had failed to develop. With Marx's *Capital* as their light and guide, the dictator and his Party would develop capitalism in Russia; they would serve as a substitute bourgeoisie, and they would use the power of the state not only to police the process, but to launch and manage it as well.

Lenin did not live long enough to demonstrate his virtuosity as general manager of Russian capital, but his successor Stalin amply demonstrated the powers of the founder's machine. The first step was the primitive accumulation of capital. If Marx had not been very clear about this, Preobrazhensky had been very clear. Preobrazhensky was jailed, but his description of the tried and tested methods of procuring preliminary capital was applied to vast Russia. The preliminary capital of English, American, Belgian and other capitalists had come from plundered overseas colonies. Russia had no overseas colonies. This lack was no obstacle. The entire Russian countryside was transformed into a colony.

The first sources of preliminary capital were Kulaks, peasants who had something worth plundering. This drive was so successful that it was applied to the remaining peasants as well, with the rational expectation that small amounts plundered from many people would yield a substantial hoard.

The peasants were not the only colonials. The former ruling class had already been thoroughly expropriated of all its wealth and property, but yet other sources of preliminary capital were found. With the totality of state power concentrated in their hands, the dictators soon discovered that they could manufacture sources of primitive accumulation. Successful entrepreneurs, dissatisfied workers and peasants, militants of competing organizations, even disillusioned Party Members, could be designated as counter-revolutionaries, rounded up, expropriated and shipped off to labor camps. All the deportations, mass executions and expropriations of earlier colonizers were re-enacted in Russia.

Earlier colonizers, being pioneers, had resorted to trial and error. The Russian dictators did not have to resort to trial and error. By their time, all the methods of procuring preliminary capital had been tried and tested, and could be scientifically applied. Russian capital developed in a totally controlled environment, a hothouse; every lever, every variable, was controlled by the national police. Functions which had been left to chance or to other bodies in less controlled environments fell to the police in the Russian hothouse. The fact that the colonials were not abroad but within, and therefore subject not to conquest but to arrest, further increased the role and size of the police. In time the omnipotent and omnipresent police became the visible emanation and embodiment of the proletariat, and communism became a synonym of total police

organization and control.

* * *

Lenin's expectations were not, however, fully realized by the Russian hothouse. The police-as-capitalist worked wonders in procuring preliminary capital from expropriated counter-revolutionaries, but did not do nearly as well in managing the capitalist production process. It may still be too early to tell for sure, but to date this police bureaucracy had been at least as inept in this role as the bourgeoisie Lenin had cursed; its ability to discover ever new sources of preliminary capital seems to be all that has kept it afloat.

Nor has the appeal of this apparatus been on a level with Lenin's expectations. The Leninist police apparatus has not appealed to businessmen or to established politicians; it has not recommended itself as a superior method of managing the production process. It has appealed to a somewhat different social class, a class I will briefly try to describe, and it has recommended itself to this class primarily as a method of seizing national power and secondarily as a method of primitive accumulation of capital.

The heirs of Lenin and Stalin have not been actual Praetorian guards, actual wielders of economic and political power in the name and for the benefit of a superfluous monarch; they have been understudy Praetorians, students of economic and political power who despaired of ever reaching even intermediate levels of power. The Leninist model has offered such people the prospect of leaping over the intermediate levels directly into the central palace.

The heirs of Lenin were clerks and minor officials, people like Mussolini, Mao Zedong and Hitler, people who, like Lenin himself, cursed their weak and inept bourgeoisies for having failed to establish their nation's greatness.

(I do not include the Zionists among the heirs of Lenin because they belong to an earlier generation. They were Lenin's contemporaries who had, perhaps independently, discovered the power of persecution and suffering as welding materials for the mobilization of a national army and police. The Zionists made other contributions of their own. Their treatment of a dispersed religious population as a nation, their imposition of the capitalist nation-state as that population's end-all and be-all, and their reduction of a religious heritage to a racial heritage, contributed significant elements to the nationalist methodology, and would have fateful consequences when they were applied on a population of Jews, not all of them Zionists, by a population welded together as a "German race.")

Mussolini, Mao Zedong and Hitler cut through the curtain of slogans and saw Lenin's and Stalin's feats for what they were: successful methods of seizing and maintaining state power. All three trimmed the methodology down to its essentials. The first step was to join up with likeminded students of power and to form the nucleus of the police organization, an outfit called, after Lenin's, the Party. The next step was to recruit the mass base, the available troops and troop suppliers. The third step was to seize the apparatus of the state, to install the theoretician in the office of Duce, Chairman or Fuehrer, to apportion police and managerial functions among the elite or cadre, and to put the mass base to work. The fourth step was to secure the preliminary capital needed to repair or launch a military-industrial complex

capable of supporting the national leader and cadre, the police and army, the industrial managers; without this capital there could be no weapons, no power, no nation.

The heirs of Lenin and Stalin further trimmed the methodology, in their recruiting drives, by minimizing capitalist exploitation and by concentrating on national oppression. Talk of exploitation no longer served a purpose, and had in fact become embarrassing, since it was obvious to all, especially to wage workers, that successful revolutionaries had not put an end to wage labor, but had extended its domain.

Being as pragmatic as American businessmen, the new revolutionaries did not speak of liberation from wage labor, but of national liberation.⁵ This type of liberation was not a dream of romantic utopians; it was precisely what was possible, and all that was possible, in the existing world, one needed only to avail oneself of already existing circumstances to make it happen. National liberation consisted of the liberation of the national chairman and the national police from the chains of powerlessness; the investiture of the chairman and the establishment of the police were not pipe dreams but components of a tried and tested strategy, a science.

Fascist and National Socialist Parties were the first to prove that the strategy worked, that the Bolshevik Party's feat could actually be repeated. The national chairmen and their staffs installed themselves in power and set out to procure the preliminary capital needed for national greatness. The Fascists thrust themselves into one of the last uninvaded regions of Africa and gouged it as earlier industrializers had gouged their colonial empires. The National Socialists targeted Jews, an inner population that had been members of a "unified Germany" as long as other Germans, as their first source of primitive accumulation because many of the Jews, like many of Stalin's Kulaks, had things worth plundering.

Zionists had already preceded the National Socialists in reducing a religion to a race, and National Socialists could look back to American pioneers for ways to use the instrument of racism. Hitler's elite needed only to translate the corpus of American racist research to equip their scientific institutes with large libraries. The National Socialists dealt with Jews much the same way as the Americans had earlier dealt with the indigenous population of North America, except that the National Socialists applied a later and much more powerful technology to the task of deporting, expropriating and exterminating human beings. But in this the later exterminators were not innovators; they merely availed themselves of the circumstances within their reach.

The Fascists and National Socialists were joined by Japanese empire-builders who feared that the decomposing Celestial Empire would become a source of preliminary capital for Russian or revolutionary Chinese industrializers. Forming an Axis, the three set out to turn the world's continents into sources of primitive accumulation of capital. They were not bothered by other nations until they started to encroach on the colonies and homelands of established capitalist powers. The reduction of already established capitalists to colonized prey could be practiced internally, where it was always legal since the nation's rulers make its laws—and had already been practiced internally by Leninists and Stalinists. But such a practice would have amounted to a change of circumstances, and it could not be carried abroad without provoking a world war. The Axis powers overreached themselves and lost.

After the war, many reasonable people would speak of the aims of the Axis as irrational and of Hitler as a lunatic. Yet the same reasonable people would consider men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson sane and rational, even though these men envisioned and began to enact the conquest of a vast continent, the deportation and extermination of the continent's population, at a time when such a project was much less feasible than the project of the Axis.⁶ It is true that the technologies as well as the physical, chemical, biological and social sciences applied by Washington and Jefferson were quite different from those applied by the National Socialists. But if knowledge is power, if it was rational for the earlier pioneers to maim and kill with gunpowder in the age of horse-drawn carriages, why was it irrational for National Socialists to maim and kill with high explosives, gas and chemical agents in the age of rockets, submarines and 'freeways'?

The Nazis were, if anything, yet more scientifically-oriented than the Americans. In their time, they were a synonym for scientific efficiency to much of the world. They kept files on everything, tabulated and cross tabulated their findings, published their tabulations in scientific journals. Among them, even racism was not the property of frontier rabble-rousers, but of well-endowed institutes.

Many reasonable people seem to equate lunacy with failure. This would not be the first time. Many called Napoleon a lunatic when he was in prison or in exile, but when Napoleon re-emerged as the Emperor, the same people spoke of him with respect, even reverence. Incarceration and exile are not only regarded as remedies for lunacy, but also as its symptoms. Failure is foolishness.

* * *

Mao Zedong, the third pioneering national socialist (or national communist; the second word no longer matters, since it is nothing but a historical relic; the expression "left-wing fascist" would serve as well, but it conveys even less meaning than the nationalist expressions) succeeded in doing for the Celestial Empire what Lenin had done for the Empire of the Tsars. The oldest bureaucratic apparatus in the world did not decompose into smaller units nor into colonies of other industrializers; it reemerged, greatly changed, as a People's Republic, as a beacon to "oppressed nations."

The Chairman and his Cadre followed the footsteps of a long line of predecessors and transformed the Celestial Empire into a vast source of preliminary capital, complete with purges, persecutions and their consequent great leaps forward.

The next stage, the launching of the capitalist production process, was carried out on the Russian model, namely by the national police. This did not work in China any better than it had in Russia. Apparently the entrepreneurial function was to be entrusted to confidence men or hustlers who are able to take other people in, and cops do not usually inspire the required confidence. But this was less important to Maoists than it had been to Leninists. The capitalist production process remains important, at least as important as the regularized drives for primitive accumulation, since without the capital there is no power, no nation. But the Maoists make few, and ever fewer, claims for their model as a superior method of industrialization, and in this they are more modest than the Russians and less disappointed by the results of their industrial police.

The Maoist model offers itself to security guards and students the world over as a tried and tested methodology of power, as a scientific strategy of national liberation. Generally known as Mao-Zedong-Thought,⁷ this science offers aspiring chairmen and cadres the prospect of unprecedented power over living beings, human activities and even thoughts. The pope and priests of the Catholic Church, with all their inquisitions and confessions, never had such power, not because they would have rejected it, but because they lacked the instruments made available by modern science and technology.

The liberation of the nation is the last stage in the elimination of parasites. Capitalism and already earlier cleared nature of parasites and reduced most of the rest of nature to raw materials for processing industries. Modern national socialism or social nationalism holds out the prospect of eliminating parasites from human society as well. The human parasites are usually sources of preliminary capital, but the capital is not always 'material'; it can also be cultural or 'spiritual'. The ways, myths, poetry and music of the people are liquidated as a matter of course; some of the music and costumes of

the former "folk culture" subsequently reappear, processed and packaged, as elements of the national spectacle, as decorations for the national accumulation drives; the ways and myths become raw materials for processing by one or several of the "human sciences." Even the useless resentment of workers toward their alienated wage labor is liquidated. When the nation is liberated, wage labor ceases to be an onerous burden and becomes a national obligation, to be carried out with joy. The inmates of a totally liberated nation read Orwell's *1984* as an anthropological study, a description of an earlier age.

It is no longer possible to satirize this state of affairs. Every satire risks becoming a bible for yet another national liberation front.⁸ Every satirist risks becoming the founder of a new religion, a Buddha, Zarathustra, Jesus, Muhammad or Marx.



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

Every exposure of the ravages of the dominant system, every critique of the system's functioning, becomes fodder for the horses of liberators, welding materials for builders of armies. Mao-Zedong-Thought in its numerous versions and revisions is a total science as well as a total theology; it is social physics as well as cosmic metaphysics. The French Committee of National Health claimed to embody the general will of only the French nation. The revisions of Mao-Zedong-Thought claim to embody the general will of all the world's oppressed.

The constant revisions of this Thought are necessary because its initial formulations were not applicable to all, or in fact to any, of the world's colonized populations. None of the world's colonized shared the Chinese heritage of having supported a state apparatus for the past two thousand years. Few of the world's oppressed had possessed any of the attributes of a

nation in the recent or distant past. The Thought had to be adapted to people whose ancestors had lived without national chairmen, armies or police, without capitalist production processes and therefore without the need for preliminary capital.

These revisions were accomplished by enriching the initial Thought with borrowings from Mussolini, Hitler and the Zionist state of Israel. Mussolini's theory of the fulfillment of the nation in the state was a central tenet. All groups of people, whether small or large, industrial or non-industrial, concentrated or dispersed, were seen as nations, not in terms of their past, but in terms of their aura, their potentiality, a potentiality embedded in their national liberation fronts. Hitler's (and the Zionists')

treatment of the nation as a racial entity was another central tenet. The cadres were recruited from among people depleted of their ancestors' kinships and customs, and consequently the liberators were not distinguishable from the oppressors in terms of language, beliefs, customs or weapons; the only welding material that held them to each other and to their mass base was the welding material that had held white servants to white bosses on the American frontier; the "racial bond" gave identities to those without identity, kinship to those who had no kin, community to those who had lost their community; it was the last bond of the culturally depleted.

* * *

The revised thought could now be applied to Africans as well as Navahos, Apaches as well as Palestinians.⁹ The borrowings from Mussolini, Hitler and the Zionists are judiciously covered up, because Mussolini and Hitler failed to hold on to their seized power, and because the successful Zionists have turned their state into the world's policeman against all other national liberation fronts. Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong must be given even more credit than they deserve.

The revised and universally applicable models work much the same as the originals, but more smoothly; national liberation has become an applied science; the apparatus has been frequently tested; the numerous kinks in the originals have by now been straightened out. All that is needed to make the contraption run is a driver, a transmission belt, and fuel.

The driver is of course the theoretician himself, or his closest disciple. The transmission belt is the general staff, the organization, also called the Party or the communist party. This communist party with a small c is exactly what it is popularly understood to be. It is the nucleus of the police organization that does the purging and that will itself be purged once the leader becomes National Leader and needs to re-revise the invariant Thought while adapting himself to the family of nations, or at least to the family bankers, munitions suppliers and investors. And the fuel: the oppressed nation, the suffering masses, the liberated people are and will

continue to be the fuel.

The leader and the general staff are not flown in from abroad; they are not foreign agitators. They are integral products of the capitalist production process. This production process has invariably been accompanied by racism. Racism is not a necessary component of production, but racism (in some form) has been a necessary component of the process of primitive accumulation of capital, and it has almost always leaked into the production process.

Industrialized nations have procured their preliminary capital by expropriating, deporting, persecuting and segregating, if not always by exterminating, people designated as legitimate prey. Kinships were broken, environments were destroyed, cultural orientations and ways were extirpated.

Descendants of survivors of such onslaughts are lucky if they preserve the merest relics, the most fleeting shadows of their ancestors' cultures. Many of the descendants do not retain even shadows; they are totally depleted; they go to work; they further enlarge the apparatus that destroyed their ancestors' culture. And in the world of work they are relegated to the margins, to the most unpleasant and least highly paid jobs. This makes them mad. A supermarket packer, for example, may know more about the stocks and the ordering than the manager, may know that racism is the only reason he is not manager and the manager not a packer. A security guard may know racism is the only reason he's not chief of police. It is among people who have lost all their roots, who dream themselves supermarket managers and chiefs of police, that the national liberation front takes root; this is where the leader and general staff are formed.

Nationalism continues to appeal to the depleted because other prospects appear bleaker. The culture of the ancestors was destroyed; therefore, by pragmatic standard, it failed; the only ancestors who survived were those who accommodated themselves to the invader's system, and they survived on the outskirts of garbage dumps. The varied utopias of poets and dreamers and the numerous "mythologies of the proletariat" have also failed; they have not proven themselves in practice; they have been nothing but hot air, pipe dreams, pies in the sky; the actual proletariat has been as racist as the bosses and the police.

The packer and the security guard have lost contact with the ancient culture; pipe dreams and utopias don't interest them, are in fact dismissed with the practical businessman's contempt toward poets, drifters and dreamers. Nationalism offers them something concrete, something that's been tried and tested and is known to work. There's no earthly reason for the descendants of the persecuted to remain persecuted when nationalism offers them the prospect of becoming persecutors. Near and distant relatives of victims can become a racist nation-state; they can themselves herd other people into concentration camps, push other people around at will, perpe-

trate genocidal war against them, procure preliminary capital by expropriating them. And if "racial relatives" of Hitler's victims can do it, so can the near and distant relatives of the victims of a Washington, Jackson, Reagan or Begin.

Every oppressed population can become a nation, a photographic negative of the oppressor nation, a place where the former packer is the supermarket's manager, where the former security guard is the chief of police. By applying the corrected strategy, every security guard can follow the precedent of ancient Rome's Praetorian guards. The security police of a foreign mining trust can proclaim itself a republic, liberate the people, and go on liberating them until they have nothing left but to pray for liberation to end. Even before the seizure of power, a gang can call itself a Front and offer heavily taxed and constantly policed poor people something they still lack: a tribute-gathering organization and a hit-squad, namely supplementary tax farmers and police, the people's own. In these ways, people can be liberated of the traits of their victimized ancestors; all the relics that still survive from pre-industrial times and non-capitalist cultures can at last be permanently extirpated.

The idea that an understanding of the genocide, that a memory of the holocausts, can only lead people to want to dismantle the system, is erroneous. The continuing appeal of nationalism suggests that the opposite is truer, namely that an understanding of genocide has led people to mobilize genocidal armies, that the memory of holocausts has led people to perpetrate holocausts. The sensitive poets who remembered the loss, the researchers who documented it, have been like

the pure scientists who discovered the structure of the atom. Applied scientists used the discovery to split the atom's nucleus, to produce weapons which can split every atom's nucleus; Nationalists used the poetry to split and fuse human populations, to mobilize genocidal armies, to perpetrate new holocausts.

The pure scientist, poets and researchers consider themselves innocent of the devastated countrysides and charred bodies.

Are they innocent?

It seems to me that at least one of Marx's observations is true: every minute devoted to the capitalist production process, every thought contributed to the industrial system, further enlarges a power that is inimical to nature, to culture, to life. Applied science is not something alien; it is an integral part of the capitalist production process. Nationalism is not flown in from abroad. It is a product of the capitalist production process, like the chemical agents poisoning the lakes, air, animals and people, like the nuclear plants radioactivating micro-environments in preparation for the radioactivation of the macro-environment.

As a postscript I'd like to answer a question before it is asked. The question is: "Don't you think a descendant of oppressed people is better off as a supermarket manager or police chief?" My answer is another question: What concentration camp manager, national executioner or torturer is not a descendant of oppressed people?

This essay originally appeared in the Winter, 1984 Fifth Estate, and is also available as a pamphlet published by Black & Red.

Notes

1. The subtitle of the first volume of *Capital is A Critique of Political Economy: The Process of Capitalist Production* (published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1906; republished by Random House, New York).

2. In *Ibid.*, pages 784-850: Part VIII: "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation."

3. E. Preobrazhensky, *The New Economics* (Moscow, 1926; English translation published by Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965), a book which announced the fateful "law of primitive socialist accumulation."

4. See V.I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964; first published in 1899). I quote from page 599: "if...we compare the present rapidity of development with that which could be achieved with the general level of technique and culture as it is today, the present rate of development of capitalism in Russia really must be considered as slow. And it cannot but be slow, for in no single capitalist country has there been such an abundant survival of ancient institutions that are incompatible with capitalism, retard its development, and immeasurably worsen the condition of the producers..."

5. Or the liberation of the state: "Our myth is the nation, our myth is the greatness of the nation"; "It is the state which creates the nation, conferring volition and therefore real life on a people made aware of their moral unity"; "Always the maximum of liberty coincides with the maximum force of the state"; "Everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state." From *Che cosa è il fascismo* and *La dottrina del fascismo*, quoted by G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York, 1955), pp. 872-878.

6. "...the gradual extension of our settlements will as certainly cause the savage, as the wolf, to retire; both being beast of prey, tho' they differ in shape" (G. Washington in 1783). "...if ever we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down till that tribe is exterminated, or driven beyond..." (T. Jefferson in 1807). "...the cruel massacres

they have committed on the women and children of our frontiers taken by surprise, will oblige us now to pursue them to extermination, or drive them to new seats beyond our reach" (T. Jefferson in 1813). Quoted by Richard Drinnon in *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building* (New York: New American Library, 1980), pp. 65, 96, 98.

7. Readily available in paper back as *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (Peking: Political Department of the people's Liberation Army, 1966).

8. Black & Red tried to satirize this situation over ten years ago with the publication of a fake *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders*, a "how-to-so-it guide" whose author, Michael Velli, offered to do for the modern revolutionary prince what Machiavelli had offered the feudal prince. This phoney "Manual" fused Mao-Zedong-Thought with the Thought of Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and their modern followers, and offered grizzly recipes for the preparation of revolutionary organizations and the seizure of total power. Disconcertingly, at least half of the requests for this "Manual" came from aspiring national liberators, and it is possible that some of the current versions of the nationalist metaphysic contain recipes offered by Michael Velli.

9. I am not exaggerating. I have before me a book-length pamphlet titled *The Mythology of the White Proletariat: A Short Course for Understanding Babylon* by J. Sakai (Chicago: Morningstar Press, 1983). As an application of Mao-Zedong-Thought to American history, it is the most sensitive Maoist work I've seen. The author documents and describes, sometimes vividly, the oppression of America's enslaved Africans, the deportations and exterminations of the American continent's indigenous inhabitants, the racist exploitation of Chinese, the incarceration of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps. The author mobilizes all these experiences of unmitigated terror, not to look for ways to supersede the system that perpetrated them, but to urge the victims to reproduce the same system among themselves. Sprinkled with pictures and quotations of chairmen Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Ho-chi Minh, this work makes no attempt to hide or disguise its repressive aims; it urges Africans as well as Navahos, Apaches as well as Palestinians, to organize a party, seize state power, and liquidate parasites.

What is a Race?

by Neal Keating

*"you got a dog race
you got a horse race
you got a human race;
but this is a rat race..."*
-Bob Marley

Race is a fiction. That does not preclude people from acting as if it were fact. Race is palpable, you can feel it on the streets and in the country. You can see its traces in everyone's faces. Oh it is real alright. But does it not feel funny some times? Do you ever find yourself pausing to wonder how it is you go about classifying other people. Already I'm suggesting the initial classification: people other than...what? You? Or me? How did we get that way?

With exceptions, everywhere everyday people go about their lives as if this difference called race is somehow real. What is here suggested is that this acceptance of the propositions of race simultaneously serves as the basic constituent of its virtual reality. What the underlying concepts of race actually consist of is another story altogether. This latter story tells the tale of a mirage, a smokescreen of ostensible truths that conceal an entirely different cluster of interests. Do not look too closely at the concepts of race, for they will shatter under scrutiny. Which is exactly the point. The big dreams of the eighteenth century European theorists, collectively known as the Enlightenment, were to liberate us from such mirages. The rigorous scrutiny provided by Enlightenment theory was going to liberate us from everything-slavery, despotism, injustice, feeble-minded people and above all, from myth, mysticism, and enchantment. Its great mistake-its black hole-was that it could not recognize itself. It could not tell its own nature. It could not tell that it was itself a myth. It was a serious understatement of (fuck you Joseph Campbell) the power of myth. This mistake has proven key to the unfolding of global history in the last two centuries. We have literally been paying the price ever since.

The Biological Concept of Race

"Look and see whether there is anything common to all, and if we do that we will not see something that is common to all, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that."

-Wittgenstein

The basic theory employed in the race concept is the theory of type. The races of humanity constituted types of *Homo sapiens*. In other words, a type is a sub-classification of a larger classification. Classifications have to be based on something. For instance, the primary biological division classification known as Kingdom is based on observed differences between plants and animals. The classifications of both *Homo* and *Sapiens* are based on measurements of brain capacity and tooth size. So what then is a racial type based on? Take a wild guess.

Skin color is the primary unit upon which type has been based. It, in turn, refers to the phenotype, *i.e.* the physical appearance of the individual. The essential difference between this unit, and say the unit upon which the classification Subphylum Vertebrata is based (the presence or absence of a spinal cord) is not just a matter of time (Subphylum Vertebrata addressing a change that took place over millions of years, whereas skin color can change in a single generation). More importantly it is a difference between variation and evolution. Evolutionary changes are irreversible. Variation, on the other hand, is much more malleable. Evolutionary changes usually can be reasonably well-fitted into a category, whereas variation does not fit very well at all. The problem is this: How do you arrange variation into types when the process of variation itself invariably undoes every racial type. It comes down to the ability to fuck and breed. All it takes are two people from different 'races' coming together and producing a baby to destroy the type. Interspecies sex will never result in offspring. However, inter-racial sex will. Aborigines, Jews, Blacks, Wasps (I mean W.A.S.P.s), et al, are all possessed of the ability to fruitfully copulate with each other, regardless of the doubts each of these may have about the other.

The Cultural Concept of Race

Skin color is but one characteristic out of many that is available for use in a system of differentiation. My hunch is that pointing out the differences between your group and their group has been a very common practice amongst humans throughout history, and throughout a considerable amount of prehistory as well. It may be an indicator of alienation, but it is just as much if not more likely an indicator of a desire to distinguish and differentiate amongst your fellows and fella-

heen. A free people will always think of themselves as different from those they perceive not to be free. Skin color is an easy way to identify one group from another. It makes sense in a territorial kind of way. The two opposing teams wear different colors, or play shirts and skins. In New York City, the common gang practice is to match the colors of the caps on the crack vials they sell with the colors of the gang. Just so, in New York City demos, the police generally send in a lot of undercover cops into the throngs and "maintain order." They can be more effective because they are less identifiable (although a second glance is usually enough to tell). They are at those times without their color. Differentiation and status are perhaps universal social desires. Race may, in the final analysis, be described as the pouring of these desires through the filter of market-based economics that are guided by Enlightenment theories. And like everything else that gets poured through there, it gets nasty.

The objective rational truth that gets hauled out in defense of racial types is just as much a component of one myth as is the muskrat who swims down to the bottom of the sea to bring up some earth to plant on turtle's back a component of another. Everyday life, even in postmodern societies, does not function according to a set of codes established upon objective facts; at least, not entirely. A lot of what one does when one negotiates the quotidian (*e.g.*, in New York or Des Moines) is active myth-interpretation, for in the end, one has to forget much in order to get anything done. Myths are stories that are comparably much more practical for integrating experience than are the raw data of biology. Were people to really pause and consider the reasoned basis for their views on race they would be thrown into a conundrum. Inevitably they would become less productive employees, for they would be compelled of their own trajectory to contemplate the reasoned basis of their society, a reflective activity that has always threatened the status quo with its revelations and subsequent rupture. The myth of objective truth is the myth of the culture that sought the conquest of nature. It functions like a good myth ought to: it sufficiently explains the contemporary society in a favorable way that encourages an ongoing compliance with its rules and constraints. And just like a good myth, it conceals its mythical nature in a veil of truth. How very magical.



Rank-and-file Radicalism within the **Ku Klux**

By John Zerzan

In the following article are presented some unusual features of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s, the only period in which the KKK was a mass movement. In no way should this essay be interpreted as an endorsement of any aspect of this version of the Klan or of any other parts of Klan activity. Nonetheless, the loathsome nature of the KKK of today should not blind us to what took place within the Klan 70 years ago, in various places and against the wishes and ideology of the Klan itself.

In the U.S. at least, racism is certainly one of the most crudely reified phenomena. The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s is one of the two or three most important—and most ignored—social movements of 20th century America. These two data are the essential preface to this essay.

Writing at the beginning of 1924, Stanley Frost accurately surveyed the Klan at the crest of its power: "The Ku Klux Klan has become the most vigorous, active and effective organization in American life outside business."¹ Depending on one's choice of sources, KKK membership in 1924 can be estimated at anywhere between two and eight million.²

And yet, the nature of this movement has been largely unexplored or misunderstood. In the fairly thin literature on the subject, the Klan phenomenon is usually described simply as 'nativism'. A favorite in the lexicon of orthodox historians, the term refers to an irrationality, racism, and backwardness supposedly endemic to the poorer and less-educated classes, and tending to break out in episodic bouts of violently-expressed prejudice. Emerson Loucks' *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania: A Study of Nativism* is a typical example. Its preface begins with, "The revived KKK and its stormy career is but one chapter in the

Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

Klan of the 1920s

history of American nativism," the first chapter is entitled, "Some Beginnings of Nativism," and in the book's concluding paragraph we learn that "Nativism has shown itself to be a perennial."³

Kenneth Jackson, with his *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, has been one of a very few commentators to go beyond the amorphous 'nativism' thesis and also challenge several of the prevailing stereotypes of the Klan. He argues forcefully that "the Invisible Empire of the 1920s was neither predominantly southern, nor rural, nor white supremacist, nor violent."⁴ Carl Degler's succinct comments corroborate the non-southern characterization quite ably: "Significantly, the single piece of indisputable Klan legislation enacted anywhere was the school law in Oregon; the state most thoroughly controlled by the Klan was Indiana; and the largest Klan membership in any state was that in Ohio. On the other hand, several southern states like Mississippi, Virginia, and South Carolina hardly saw the Klan or felt its influence."⁵ Jackson's statistics show clearly the Klan's northern base, with only one southern state, Texas, among the eight states with the largest membership.⁶ It would be difficult to even begin to cite Jackson's evidence in favor of terming the Klan an urban phenomenon, inasmuch as his whole book testifies to this characterization. It may be interesting to note, however, the ten urban areas with the most Klansmen. Principally industrial and all but one of them outside the South, they are, in descending order: Chicago, Indianapolis, Philadelphia-Camden, Detroit, Denver, Portland, Atlanta, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Youngstown-Warren, and Pittsburgh-Carnegie.⁷

The notion of the KKK as an essentially racist organization is similarly challenged by Jackson. As Robert Moats Miller put it, "in great areas of the country where the Klan was powerful the Negro population was insignificant,

and in fact, it is probable that had not a single Negro lived in the United States, a Klan-type order would have emerged."⁸ And Robert Duffus, writing for the June 1923 *World's Week*, conceded: "while the racial situation contributed to a state of mind favorable to Ku Kluxism, curiously it did not figure prominently in the Klan's career."⁹ The Klan in fact tried to organize "colored divisions" in Indiana and other states, to the amazement of historian Kathleen Blee.¹⁰ Degler, who wrongly considered vigilantism to be the core trait of the Klan, admitted that such violence as there was "was directed against white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants rather than against the minorities."¹¹

Which brings us to the fourth and last point of Jackson's thesis, that the KKK was not predominantly violent. Again, his conclusions seem valid despite the widespread image of a lynch-mad, terroristic Klan. The post-war race riots of 1919 in Washington, Chicago, and East St. Louis, for example, occurred before there were any Klansmen in those cities,¹² and in the 1920s, when the Klan grew to its great strength, the number of lynchings in the U.S. dropped to less than half the annual average of pre-war years¹³ and a far smaller fraction than that by comparison with the immediately post-war years. In the words of Preston Slosson, "By a curious anomaly, in spite of...the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, the old American custom of lynch law fell into almost complete disuse."¹⁴

A survey of *Literary Digest* (conservative) and *The Nation* (liberal) for 1922-1923 reveals several reported instances in which the Klan was blamed for violence it did not perpetrate and unfairly deprived of its rights.¹⁵ Its enemies frequently included local or state establishments, and were generally far from being meek and powerless victims.

If the Ku Klux Klan, then, was not predominantly southern, rural, racist, or violent, just what was the nature of this

strange force which grew to such power so rapidly and spontaneously in the early-middle '20s—and declined at least as quickly by 1925? The orthodox 'nativism' answer asserts that it was just another of the periodic, unthinking and reactionary efforts of the ignorant to turn back the clock, and therefore futile and short-lived. A post-Jackson, 'neonativist' position might even concede the points about racism and violence not being determinant, and still essentially maintain this point of view, of recurrent, blind efforts to restore an inchoate but rightist version of the past.

But a very strong pattern regarding the Klan introduces doubts about this outlook, namely, that militantly progressive or radical activities have often closely preceded, coincided with, or closely followed strong KKK efforts, and have involved the same participants. Oklahoma, for example, experienced in a mere ten years the growth and decline of the largest state branch of the Socialist Party, and the rise of one of the strongest Klan movements.¹⁶ In Williamson County, Illinois, an interracial crowd of union coal miners stormed a mine being worked by strike-breakers and killed twenty of them. The community supported the miners' action and refused to convict any of the participants in this so-called Herrin Massacre of 1922, which had captured the nation's attention. Within two years, Herrin and the rest of Williamson County backed one of the very strongest local Klan organizations in the country.¹⁷ The violently suppressed strikes of the southern Appalachian Piedmont textile workers in 1929, among the most bitterly fought in twentieth century labor history,¹⁸ took place at the time of or immediately following great Klan strength in many of the same mill towns. The rubber workers of the huge tire-building plants of Akron, the first to widely employ the effective sit-down strike weapon in the early 1930s, formed a large part of that

city's very sizeable Klan membership,¹⁹ or had come from Appalachian regions where the KKK was also strong. In 1934, the very militant and interracial Southern Tenant Farmers Union was formed, and would face the flight of its leaders, the indifference of organized labor, and the machine-guns of the large landholders. Many of its active members were former Klansmen.²⁰ And observers of the United Auto Workers have claimed that some of the most militant activists in auto were former Klansmen.²¹

The key to all these examples of apparently disparate loyalties is a simple one. As I will show, not only did some Klansmen hold relatively radical opinions while members of the Invisible Order, but in fact used the Klan, on occasion, as a vehicle for radical social change. The record in this area, though not inaccessible, has remained completely undeveloped.

The rise of the Klan began with the sharp economic depression that struck in the fall of 1920. In the South, desperate farmers organized under the Klan banner in an effort to force up the price of cotton by restricting its sale. "All throughout the fall and winter of 1920-22 masked bands roamed the countryside warning gineries and warehouses to close until prices advanced. Sometimes they set fire to establishments that defied their edict."²² It was from this start that the Klan really began to grow and to spread to the North, crossing the Mason-Dixon line in the winter of 1920-21.²³

The KKK leadership "disavowed and apparently disapproved of"²⁴ this aggressive economic activism, and it is important to note that more often than not there was tension or opposition between officials and members, a point I will return to later. In a southern union hall in 1933, Sherwood Anderson queried a local reporter about the use of the Klan for economic struggles: "This particular hall had formerly been used by a Ku Klux Klan organization and I asked the newspaper man, 'How many of these people [textile workers] were in on that?' 'A good many,' he said. He thought the Ku Klux Klan had been rather an outlet for the workers when America was outwardly so prosperous. 'The boom market never got down to these,' he said, making a sweeping movement with his arm."²⁵ Klan officials

never spoke in favor of such uses of the Klan, but it was the economic and social needs that often drew people to the Klan, rather than religious, patriotic, or strictly fraternal ones.²⁶

This is not to say that there wasn't a multiplicity of contributing factors usually present as the new Klan rose to prominence. There was a widespread feeling that the "Glorious Crusade" of World War I had been a swindle. There was the desperate boredom and monotony of regimented work-lives. To this latter frustration, a KKK newspaper appealed for new members with the banner, "JUST TO PEP UP THE GAME. THIS SLOW LIFE IS KILLING ME."²⁷ And with these feelings, too, it is quite easy to imagine a form of progressive social or political activism being the result. As Stanley Frost commented in 1924, "the Klan movement seems to be another expression of the general unrest and dissatisfaction with both local and national conditions—the high cost of living, social injustice, inequality...."²⁸ Or, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. offhandedly revealed in a comment about Huey Long, "despite his poor white sympathies, he did not, like Hugo Black in Alabama, join the Klan."²⁹

The activities of the Klan have very commonly been referred to as "moral reform," and certainly this kind of effort was common. Articles such as, "Behind the White Hoods: The Regeneration of Oklahoma," and "Night-Riding Reformers," from Fall 1923 issues of *The Outlook* bespeak this side of Klan motivation.³⁰ They tell how the Klan cleaned up gangs of organized crime and combated vice and political corruption in Oklahoma and Indiana, apparently with a minimum of violence or vigilantism. Also widespread were Klan attempts to put bootleggers out of business, though we might recall here that prohibition has frequently been endorsed by labor partisans, from the opinion that the often high alcohol consumption rates among workers weakened the labor movement. In fact, the Klan not infrequently attacked liquor and saloon interests explicitly as forces that kept working people down.

It is on the plane of 'moral' issues, furthermore, that another stereotype regarding the KKK—that of its total moral intolerance—dissolves at least somewhat under scrutiny. Charles Bowles, the almost successful write-in

Klan candidate in the 1924 Detroit mayoralty race, was a divorce lawyer (as well as being pro-public works). It cannot be denied that anti-Catholicism was a major plank of Klan appeal in many places, such as Oregon. But at least part of this attitude stemmed from a "belief that the Catholic Church was a major obstacle in the struggle for women's suffrage and equality."³¹

Margaret Sanger, the birth control pioneer, gave a lecture to Klanswomen in Silver Lake, New Jersey, a speaking engagement she accepted with no little trepidation. She feared that if she "uttered one word, such as abortion, outside the usual vocabulary of these women they would go off into hysteria." Actually, a real rapport was established and the evening was a great success. "A dozen invitations to speak to similar groups were proffered. The conversation went on and on, and when we were finally through it was too late to return to New York."³²

At any rate, a connection can be argued between 'moral' reform and more fundamental reform attempts. "I wonder if anybody could ever find any connection between this town's evident immoralities and some of the plant's evident dissatisfaction?"³³ pondered Whiting Williams in 1921. He decided in the affirmative, that vice in the community is the result of anger in the mill or factory. And Klan members often showed an interest in also combating what they saw as the causes of 'immoralities' rather than simply their manifestations.

Hiram Evans, a head of the Klan, admitted in a rare interview in 1923 that "There has been a widespread feeling among Klansmen that in the last few years the operation of the National Government has shown weakness indicating a possible need of rather fundamental reform."³⁴ A 1923 letter to the editor of *The New Republic* details this awareness of the need for deep-seated changes. Written by an opponent of the Klan, the passage expresses "The Why of the Klan":

"First: Throughout all classes there is a growing skepticism of democracy, especially of the current American brand. Many Americans believe there is little even-handed justice administered in the courts; that a poor man has little chance against a rich one; that many judges practically buy their places on the bench or are put there by powerful

interests. The strong, able young man comes out of college ready to do his part in politics, but with the settled conviction that unless he can give full time there is no use 'bucking up against the machine.' Furthermore he believes the machines to be equally corrupt. The miner in West Virginia sees the power of the state enlisted on the side of the mine owner."³³

Throughout the literature there is a strongly prevailing tendency to deal with the social composition of Klan membership by ignoring it altogether, or, more commonly, by referring to it in passing as "middle class." This approach enabled John Mecklin, whose *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (1924) is regarded as a classic, to say that "The average Klansman is far more in sympathy with capital than with labor."³⁶ In large part this stems from looking at the top Klan officials, rather than at the rank and file members. William Simmons, D.C. Stephenson, and Hiram Evans, the men who presided over the Klan in the '20s had been, respectively, a minister, a coal dealer, and a dentist. But the membership definitely did not share this wholly "middle class" makeup.

Kenneth Jackson only partially avoids the error by terming the Klan a "lower middle-class movement,"³⁷ a vague appellation which he corrects shortly thereafter: "The greatest source of Klan support came from rank and file non-union, blue-collar employees of large businesses and factories."³⁸

Returning to the subject of socio-political attitudes of Klan members, available evidence strikingly confirms my contention of a sometimes quite radical frame of mind. In the spring of 1924, *The Outlook* magazine conducted a "Platform of the People" poll by mail. When it was found that an organizational request for ten thousand ballots came from the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan, pink ballots were supplied so that they could be separately tabulated. To quote the article, "Pink Ballots for the Ku Klux Klan": "The ballots returned all came from towns and small cities in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Of the total of 1,139 voters, 490 listed themselves as Republicans, only 97 as Democrats, and 552 as Independents. Among them are 243 women."³⁹ Approximately two-thirds (over 700) responded regarding their

occupations. "The largest single group (209) is that of skilled workmen; the next (115) is of laborers." The rest includes workers (e.g. "railway men") and farmers, plus a scattering of professionals and merchants. The women who listed their occupations were mainly housewives.

Despite the generally high percentages of abstention on most of the issues, the results on the following selected topics show clearly radical leanings.⁴⁰

Percent	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
"Compulsory freight reduction"	30	77	3
"Nationalization of the railroads with cooperative administration by workers, shippers, and public"	24	72	4
"Federal Aid for Farmers' Co-operatives"	30	68	2
"Federal purchase of wheat"	20	68	2
"Price fixing of staple farm products"	23	75	5
"Further extension of farm credit"	32	67	1
"Equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women"	41	56	3
"Amendment enabling Congress to prevent exploitation of children in industry"	45	54	1
"Federal Anti-Lynching Law"	38	60	2
"Establish Federal Employment Bureau"	37	60	3
"Extension of principle of Federal aid for education"	91	9	0
"Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes"	20	73	7
"Nationalization, and democratic administration by technicians, workers, and consumers, of coal mines"	23	72	5
"Government control and distribution of high-power transmission"	33	64	3

Also favored were immigration restriction and prohibition. *The Outlook*, obviously displeased with the response, categorized the Klan participants as "more inclined to accept panaceas at face value, willing to go farther. In general," they concluded, "this leads to greater radicalism, or 'progressivism.'"⁴¹ The Klan movement declined rapidly within a year of the poll, and research substantiates the enduring validity of *The Outlook* editors' claim that "The present table provides the only analysis that has ever been made of the political views of members of the Ku Klux Klan."⁴²

With this kind of data, it is less surprising to find, for example, that the Socialist Party and the Klan formed a 1924 electoral alliance in Milwaukee to elect John Kleist, a Socialist and a Klansman, to the Wisconsin Supreme

Court.⁴³ Robert O. Nesbitt perceived, in Wisconsin, a "tendency for German Socialists, whose most conspicuous opponents were Catholic clergy, to join the Klan."⁴⁴ The economic populist Walter Pierce was elected governor in Oregon in 1922 by a strong agricultural protest vote, including the endorsement of the Klan and the Socialist Party. Klan candidates promised to cut taxes in half, reduce phone rates, and give aid to distressed farmers.⁴⁵ A recent study of

the Klan in LaGrande, Oregon revealed that it "played a substantial role in supporting the strikers" during the nationwide railworkers' strike of 1922.⁴⁶

In fact, the KKK appealed not infrequently to militant workers, despite the persistent stereotype of the Klan's anti-labor bent. An August 1923 *World's Work* article described strong worker support for the Klan in Kansas; during the state-wide railroad strike there in 1922, the strikers "actually did flock into the Klan in what seems to have been large numbers."⁴⁷

Charles Alexander, who wrote the highly regarded *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, though generally subscribing to the anti-labor Klan reputation, confessed his own inability to confirm this image. Referring to himself, he said, "the writer has come across only two instances of direct conflict between

southwestern Klansmen and union organizers, one in Arkansas and one in Louisiana."⁴⁸ Writing of Oklahoma, Carter Blue Clark judged that "violence against the International (sic) Workers of the World and radical farm and labor groups was rare..."⁴⁹ He found sixty-eight incidents of Klan-related violence between 1921 and 1925, only two of which belonged to the "Unionization/Radicalism" category.⁵⁰

Goldberg's study of the KKK in Colorado found that "despite coal strikes in 1921, 1922, and 1927, which primarily involved foreign-born miners, the Klan never resorted to the language of the Red Scare." During the Wobbly-led strike of 1927, in fact, the Canon City Klan formed an alliance with the IWW against their common enemy, the ruling elite.⁵¹

Virginia Durr, who was Henry Wallace's Progressive Party running mate in 1948, gives us a picture of the Klan of the '20s and labor in the Birmingham area:

"The unions were broken...So, the Ku Klux Klan was formed at that point as a kind of underground union and unless you were there and knew it, nobody will believe it. They will say, 'Oh, but the Klan was against the unions.' Well, it wasn't."⁵²

Gerald Dunne found that "ninety percent of Birmingham's union members were also involved with the Klan,"⁵³ and that the Klan in the state at large attacked the Alabama Power Company and the influence of the ruling Bankhead family while campaigning for public control of the Muscle Shoals dam project and government medical insurance.⁵⁴

In the '20s the corrupt and inert officialdom of the United Mine Workers was presided over by the autocratic John L. Lewis. Ku Kluxers in the union, though they had been officially barred from membership in 1921, formed a coalition with leftists at the 1924 convention in a fight for union democracy: "Then the radicals...combined with the sympathizers of the hooded order to strip Mr. Lewis of the power to appoint organizers."⁵⁵ Though this combination was narrowly defeated, "Lewis was outvoted in a first test of the question as to whether local executives and organizers should be appointed by the national officials or by the rank and file. The insurgents, headed by the deposed Alex-

ander Howat and spurred on by the members of the Ku Klux Klan, who exerted a lobbying influence from the convention doorways, combined to carry the first vote."⁵⁶ Though officially denied membership, strongly pro-UMW sources have admitted that, in fact, a great many union members were Klansmen. McDonald and Lynch, for example, estimated that in 1924 eighty percent of UMW District 11 (Indiana) members were enrolled in the KKK. An examination of the *Proceedings* of the 1924 union convention supports this point; areas of Klan strength, such as Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania voted very decisively against Lewis, in favor of the election of organizers by the rank and file.⁵⁸

A *New Republic* article in March, 1924 told of the strength of the Klan in Williamson County, Illinois, scene of the "Herrin Massacre" referred to above. The anti-Klan piece sadly shook its head at this turn of events in an area of "one hundred percent unionism."⁵⁹ Buried in the middle of the account is the key to the situation, an accurate if grudging concession that "the inaction of their local labor leaders gave to the Ku Klux Klan a following among the miners."⁶⁰

The following oral history account by Aaron Barkham, a West Virginia miner, is a perfect illustration of the Klan as a vehicle of class struggle—and of the reason for its official denunciation by the UMW. It is worth quoting at length:

"About that time 1929, in Logan County, West Virginia, a bunch of strike-breakers come in with shotguns and axe handles. Tried to break up union meetings. The UMW deteriorated and went back to almost no existence. It didn't particularly get full strength till about 1949. And it don't much today in West Virginia. So most people ganged up and formed the Ku Klux Klan."

The Ku Klux was the real controllin' factor in the community. It was the law. It was in power to about 1932. My dad was one of the leaders til he died. The company called in the army to get the Ku Klux out, but it didn't work. The union and the Ku Klux was about the same thing."

The superintendent of the mine got the big idea of makin' it rougher than it was. They hauled him off in a meat wagon, and about ten more of the company officials. Had the mine shut down. They didn't kill 'em, but they didn't come back. They whipped one of the foremen and got

him out of the county. They gave him twelve hours to get out, get his family out."

The UMW had a field representative, he was a lawyer. They tarred and feathered 'im for tryin' to edge in with the company. He come around, got mad, tryin' to tell us we were wrong, when we called a wildcat. He was takin' the side of the company. I used a stick to help tar 'im. And it wasn't the first time."

The Ku Klux was formed on behalf of people that wanted a decent living, both black and white. Half the coal camp was colored. It wasn't anti-colored. The black people had the same responsibilities as the white. Their lawn was just as green as the white man's. They got the same rate of pay. There was two colored who belonged to it. I remember those two niggers comin' around my father and askin' questions about it. They joined. The pastor of our community church was a colored man. He was Ku Klux. It was the only protection the workin' man had."

Sure, the company tried to play one agin' the other. But it didn't work. The colored and the whites lived side by side. It was somethin' like a checkerboard. There'd be a white family and a colored family. No sir, there was no racial problem. Yeah, they had a certain feelin' about the colored. They sure did. And they had a certain feelin' about the white, too. Anyone come into the community had unsatisfactory dealin's, if it was colored or white, he didn't stay."⁶¹

Why have the few, standard accounts of the Klan been seemingly so far off? Principally because they have failed to look at the Klan phenomenon "from the bottom up," to see KKK participants as historical subjects. One result of this is to have overlooked much material altogether. As most labor attention focuses on the unions at the expense of the individual workers, so has the Klan been ignored as a movement relevant to the history of working people. *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933*, by Irving Bernstein, is widely regarded as the best treatment of labor in the 1920s. It does not mention the Ku Klux Klan. Similarly, the Lynds' *Middletown*, that premier sociological study of Muncie, Indiana in the '20s, barely mentions the Klan⁶² and then only in terms of a most marginal area, religious preference.⁶³

Certainly no one would seriously maintain that the KKK of the '20s was

free from bigotry or injustice. There is truth in the characterization of the Klan as a moment of soured populism, fermented of post-war disillusion. But it is also true that when large numbers of people, feeling "a sense of defeat"⁶⁴ in an increasingly urban South, or their northern counterparts, "conscious of their growing inferiority,"⁶⁵ turned to the Klan, they did not necessarily enact some kind of sick, racist savagery. On occasion, they even turned, as we have seen, to a fairly radical activism—to the chagrin of their corrupt and conservative leadership.

In fact, it was internal dissension—plus, to a lesser extent, the return of relative prosperity in 1925⁶⁶—that brought about the precipitous decline of the Klan. Donald Crownover's study of the KKK in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania discussed some of the abortive efforts to form state and even national organizations alternative to the vice and autocracy prevailing at the top of the Invisible Empire.⁶⁷ "Revolt from within, not criticism from without, broke the Klan."⁶⁸ More fundamentally, the mid-1920s, against the background of a decisive deformation provided by World War I,⁶⁹ saw the real arrival of the consumer society and the cultural displacement of militancy it represented.⁷⁰

The above research, limited and unsystematic as it is, would seem to raise more questions than it answers. Nonetheless, it may be possible to discern here something of relevance concerning racism, spontaneity and popular values in the context of a very important social movement.⁷¹

Notes:

1. Stanley Frost, *The Challenge of the Klan* (New York, 1969), p.1.
2. Between five and six million is probably the soundest figure. Morrison and Commager found "garnered in the Northeast and Midwest an all-time peak of six million members." *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1950), vol. II, p.556. Jonathon Daniels estimated that "the supposedly Southern organization had sprawled continentally from beginnings in Atlanta in 1915, up from 100,000 members in 1921 to 5,000,000 in 1924." *The Time Between the Wars* (Garden City, New York, 1966), p. 108.
3. Emerson Loucks, *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania: A Study of Nativism* (New York, 1936), pp. vi, 1, 198.
4. Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York, 1967), p. xi.
5. Carl Degler, "A Century of the Klans: A Review Article," *Journal of Southern History* (November 1965), pp. 442-443.
6. Jackson, op.cit., p. 237.

7. Ibid., p. 239.
8. Robert Moats Miller, "The Ku Klux Klan," from *The Twenties: Change and Continuity*, John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner and David Brody, eds. (Columbus, 1968), p. 218.
9. Robert L. Duffus, "How the Ku Klux Klan Sells Hate," *World's Week* (June, 1923), p. 179.
10. Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan* (Berkeley, 1991), p. 169.
11. Degler, op.cit., p. 437.
12. William Simmons, head of the Klan in 1921, testified—without challenge—that the post-war race riots in Washington, East St. Louis and Chicago took place before there were any Klan members in those cities. See *Hearings Before the Committee on Rules: House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Congress* (Washington, 1921), p. 75.
13. Daniel Snowman, USA: *The Twenties to Viet Nam* (London, 1968), p.37.
14. Preston W. Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After* (New York, 1930), p. 258.
15. See *Literary Digest*: "Quaint Customs and Methods of the KKK," (August 5, 1922) A Defense of the Ku Klux Klan," (January 20, 1923), esp. pp. 18-19; "The Klan as the Victim of Mob Violence," (September 8, 1923), p. 12; *The Nation*: "Even the Klan Has Rights," (December 13, 1922), p. 654.
16. See Garin Burban "Agrarian Radicals and Their Opponents: Political Conflicts in Southern Oklahoma, 1910-1924," *Journal of American History* (June 1971). Burbank argues that the Socialist Party and the Klan had different constituencies in Oklahoma, but much of his own data contradicts this conclusion. Esp. pp. 20-21.
17. See Paul M. Angle's *Bloody Williamson* (New York, 1952), esp. pp. 4, 210 28-29, 137-138.
18. See Irving Bernstein's *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933* (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 1-43.
19. Jackson, op.cit., p. 239. Akron had the eighth largest membership of U.S. cities.
20. See Thomas R. Brooks' *Toil and Trouble* (New York, 1971), p. 368, and Jerold S. Auerbach's *Labor and Liberty: The LaFollette Committee and the New Deal* (Indianapolis, 1966), p. 38.
21. Irving Howe and B.J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York, 1949), p. 9.
22. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New York, 1968), pp. 289-290.
23. Donald A. Crownover, "The Ku Klux Klan in Lancaster County, 1923-1924," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* (1964, No.2), p. 64.
24. Higham, op.cit., p. 290.
25. Sherwood Anderson, *Puzzled America* (New York, 1935), p. 114.
26. Neill Herring, a veteran progressive and scholar from Atlanta, has testified to this kind of utilization of Klan organization as enabled by a structure that "left a fair measure of local independence of action." Letter to author, March 25, 1975.
27. Miller, op.cit., p. 224.
28. Frost, op.cit., p. 270.
29. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston, 1960), p. 45.
30. Stanley Frost, "Night-Riding Reformers," *The Outlook* (November 14, 1923); Frost "Behind the White Hoods; The Regeneration of Oklahoma," *The Outlook* (November 21, 1923).
31. Robert Klan Goldberg, *Hooded Empire: the Ku Klux Klan in Colorado* (Urbana, 1981), p. 23.
32. Margaret Sanger, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1938), pp. 366-367.
33. Frost, op.cit., p. 86.
34. Frost, op.cit., p. 86.
35. Mary H. Herring, "the Why of the Klan,"

- (Correspondence) *The New Republic* (February 23, 1923), p. 289.
36. John Moffat Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York, 1924), p. 98.
37. Jackson, op.cit., p. 240.
38. Ibid., p. 241.
39. "Pink Ballots for the Ku Klux Klan," *The Outlook* (June 25, 1924), pp. 306-307.
40. Ibid., p. 307-308. My percentages involve slight approximations; they are based on averaging the percentages given for Republicans, Democrats, and Independents proportionally.
41. Ibid., p. 306.
42. Ibid., p. 308.
43. Jackson, op.cit., p. 162.
44. Robert O. Nesbitt, *Wisconsin: A History* (Madison, 1973), p. 467.
45. George S. Turnbull, *An Oregon Crusader* (Portland, 1955), p. 150. "Promises and Lies," (editorial) *Capital Journal* (Salem, October 31, 1922).
46. David A. Horowitz, "The Ku Klux Klan in LaGrande, Oregon," *The Invisible Empire in the West*, ed. Shawn Lay (Urbana, 1992), p. 195.
47. Robert L. Duffus, "The Ku Klux Klan in the Middle West," *World's Work* (August, 1923), p. 365.
48. Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Louisville, 1965), p. 25.
49. Carter Blue Clark, *A History of the Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma*. Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Oklahoma, 1976), p. 115.
50. Ibid., p. 147.
51. Goldberg, op.cit., pp. 122, 146.
52. Virginia Durr, Interview (conducted by Susan Thrasher and Jacque Hall, May 13-15, 1975), University of North Carolina Oral History project.
53. Gerald T. Dunne, *Hugo Black and the Judicial Revolution* (New York, 1977), p. 114.
54. Ibid., pp. 116, 118, 121.
55. Cecil Carnes, *John L. Lewis* (New York, 1936), p. 116.
56. Ibid., p. 114.
57. David J. McDonald and Edward A. Lynch, *Coal and Unionism* (Silver Spring, Md, 1939), p. 161.
58. United Mine Workers of America, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Consecutive and Sixth Biennial Convention* (Indianapolis, 1924), p. 686.
59. "Ku Kluxing in the Miners' Country," *The New Republic* (March 26, 1924), p. 123.
60. Ibid., p. 124.
61. Studs Terkel, *Hard Times* (New York, 1970), pp. 229-230.
62. Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown* (New York, 1929), pp. 333, 364-366, 479.
63. George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1967), p. 196: "careful historians have found that neither the major church bodies and periodicals nor fundamentalist leaders ever worked closely with the Klan." There seems to have been even less of a connection between the churches and the Klan in the North.
64. Ibid., p. 191.
65. George E. Mowry, *The Urban Nation* (New York, 1965), p. 34.
66. Degler, op.cit., p. 441.
67. Crownover, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
68. Loucks, op.cit., p. 165.
69. Zerzan, "Origins and Meaning of World War I," *Telos* 49, esp. pp. 107-108.
70. Stewart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Roots of the Consumer Society* (New York, 1977). For example, pp. 189-190, 201.
71. Special thanks to Neill Herring of Atlanta, Susan Thrasher of New Market, Tennessee, and Bob Hall of chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in *Anarchy*—as in the case of an author of an essay or creator of artwork published here.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable, excessively boring or contain threats. (Ellipses in italicized brackets [...] indicate editorial omissions.) Limit length to four double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446.

The reality of social construction

Anarchy,

the debate concerning trans-generational sex continues in the pages of your magazine, as does the continued simplistic, reductionist and eminently ideological rhetoric from the supporters of a adult-child sex on the issues of power and consent. a recent letter from "an unrepentant pedophile" recycles some of the liberal individualist/unencumbered free will rubbish utilized as elements in arguments in previous issues by others who seem unwilling to accept the reality of social construction and the ubiquity of power relations. "an unrepentant pedophile" (hereafter a.u.p.) talks about the possibility of "allowing (children) to make uncoerced, fully informed decisions in all aspects of their lives" as though that were even a realistic possibility in our society. Children are subjected to adult authority, a.u.p. rightly points out, in nearly every facet of their lives: teachers, parents, babysitters, store owners, neighbors, police, through mass media imagery, etc. They are thoroughly conditioned to defer to such authority, their access to nearly every kind of material or ideational resource is defined and limited by adult authority, indeed, *the very wants and desires they are able to conceive and subsequently the kind of consent they may generate are fundamentally shaped by the power exercised by that authority.* To imagine that, given such a field of play, one can just point to the 'consent' of the subaltern as a

reliable and comprehensive indicator that no coercion, no power is being exercised is akin to stating that slaves who 'willingly' acknowledge the superiority of their masters do so of their own free and unencumbered wills. In other words, there's no such thing as manipulated consensus. to be fair, a.u.p. does admit such a state of affairs *might* apply in the case of an adult engaging in sexual relations with one of her/his own children and thus make that situation more problematic, but i wonder how it is that a.u.p. can so readily make such neat distinctions between the power exercised by a child's parent and say her teacher, her camp supervisor, her social worker....

to some 'anarchists' (perhaps i can count a.u.p. among them), this is a too deterministic picture of social reality. they are in fact often quite eager to condemn such arguments as 'fascist' or 'pessimistic'. in reply i reiterate my remarks from a previous letter: it's not my responsibility to stroke these liberal individualist 'anarchists' and cater to their asocial notions of discrete and 'free' individuals all running around in the world seemingly unaffected by other such beings, social structures, historical contexts, etc. power cannot be critically analyzed unless one is willing to be critical—to neglect the intricacies of social power, false consciousness/manipulated consensus and the limits structure places on agency is to engage in the worst and most dangerously simplistic kind of bourgeois liberal 'theorizing'.

x.m., san diego, ca.

Too brainwashed

Dear *Anarchy*,

Lemme say that your magazine is something of a relief. It showed me that there is a significant anarchist network out there. Before I received the sample copy of your magazine (#33/Summer '92 "Abandoning Civilization") that I ordered I was not aware that there was a prevalent anarchist movement of any sort. Mainstream media doesn't like to talk about that sort of thing. Might start people thinking. I am what you could call a self-made anarchist and free-thinker. I grew up a very self-repressed child who believed that law & order was to everyone's benefit. Then I read Howard Zinn's revisionist *A People's History of the United States* for a high school history course (it was a very liberal prep school). History from the losers' viewpoint really opened my eyes. I rather rapidly swung to the radical left, becoming more or less a socialist and extremely sympathetic to anarchists but not actually one, in any case further left than the school intended to indoctrinate me. Thing was I had no real exposure to either socialism or anarchism except reading about them in Zinn. I only had a sketchy idea of what anarchists were about. The only reason I wasn't an anarchist was because I didn't think it would work. I started hanging out with different people, a few of whom were out-right anarchists, also self-made. I still had no contact with any significant anarchist movement. This is my freshman year in college and shortly after getting here the dam finally gave and I became a full-blown anarchist, deciding "Fuck it, I don't care whether it will work or not, I believe in anarchy!" Reading some Noam Chomsky helped me on my way, as well as my disgust with the pseudo-leftist liberalism of my college, Wesleyan University. They all have this ridiculous faith in the system, which I never possessed after reading Zinn. They were all celebrating Bill Clinton's victory when I voiced my attitude: "Why? It's not going to change anything fundamental. We'll still have a culture based on democracy and capital-

ism (read selfishness) and a religion of materialist consumerism." (If you define a religion as a set of beliefs that provides a structure for viewing the world, that's what it is.) Although they claimed to see what I was saying, they didn't seem to see my point. They were too brainwashed.

Which brings me to the other thing I wanted to say. Your subscription form starts off "Tired of being told...what to think?" but I don't see much mention of that theme elsewhere. The issue of free-thought, however, is one of the things that made me a full-blown anarchist. While it might be possible to develop a government that is not repressive (although I somehow doubt that), any government cannot exist without an ideology to justify its existence. I here note that I differentiate between a philosophy and an ideology. A philosophy is free-flowing, subject to question, non-dogmatic (like anarchism), an ideology on the other hand is a philosophy that has stagnated, it's dogmatic and conformist (like Marxism, which was originally not all that different than anarchism). Once a government has an ideology to justify its existence it must make sure the people under its control believe this ideology—in other words it's gotta brainwash them. Brainwashing means that there is no free thought on the part of the vast majority of the population, and if there is no free thought then all the other supposed 'freedoms' we have (assuming that they genuinely exist) are meaningless. The issue is how to wake people up from their brainwashing. Oddly, the most brainwashed people tend to be the ones with the most power, with some exceptions. (This is not to say that the majority of people aren't brainwashed; they're just a little less brainwashed.) It occurs to me that even if a culture based on absence of authority, mutual and voluntary cooperation, respect for all, etc. is established there will be the urge to conform that there is in any culture. It won't be as bad as with a government, but people will still be pressured not to think *too* freely. Society

has always actively participated in the brainwashing process, and I'm not sure that that is completely a reflection of government's nature, but possibly also of society's nature. The only solution is to include as a part of this culture the attitude that *everything* should be questioned, even one's most basic beliefs and convictions. I mean what's so great about freedom for all? It's just a concept of Western culture (even if it's only a ruse). Isn't it? Or does it have some deeper basis?

The pressure to conform to society brings me to another point. In John Zerzan's article "Future Primitive" an idyllic picture is painted for us of the life of hunter-gatherers. While I am not disputing the facts Zerzan presents, there is evidence indicating that these people have a very different psychology than us. As products of capitalist culture we are raised to be individualists (even if it usually manifests itself in the form of selfishness, not free-thinking), but the hunter-gatherers, and many agriculturalists, are raised so that the individual is of very little importance. There is no pressure to act a certain way. It is instead ingrained deeply in the unconscious psyche to conform and obey the ruler (if there is one, which isn't always necessary). I don't know about you, but I don't find that particularly attractive. You aren't going to get free-thought that way. Then again traditional psychology could be completely misinterpreting things because of the selfish bias of our culture, and be unable to comprehend a truly anarchic culture.

Hopefully your magazine will keep me from getting rebrainwashed while I'm at this institution of liberal indoctrination. I may well leave to keep that from happening and to hell with society's expectations.

Peace, love, & anarchy,
M.W., Middletown, CT.

Don't trash the IWW

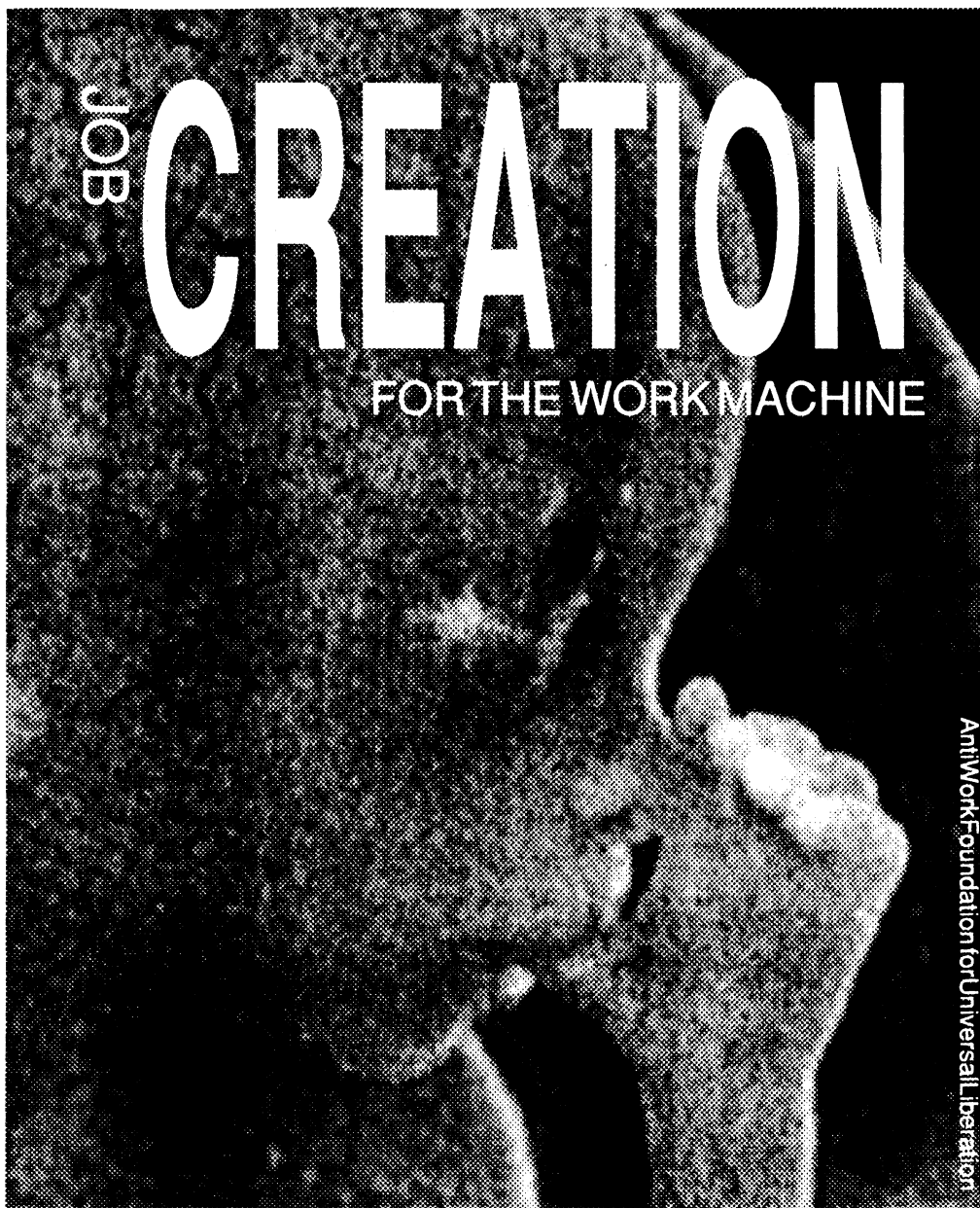
Dear *Anarchy*,

First let me say that I am very pleased with most of *Anarchy*. I really like most of the situationist stuff because it is important

ideas that need to get out and you do a very good job in getting them out. That alone makes *Anarchy* an important part of the anarchist press. The area that I do not agree with you is the IWW and the working class. To me anarchism is all about dealing with the oppressions of the people. Oppressions come in many forms, sexism, sexual oppression, racism, etc. The oppression of the working class is just as important as all the rest. Those of us who deal with the oppression of the working class are too often stereotyped as 'workerists'. As a person who has been involved in working

class struggles for 25 years let me tell you that I do not believe that the anarchist revolution will be just workers seizing their jobs. The paper that I have put out for 14 years, *Bayou La Rose*, proves the point. That brings me to what you said about the IWW and Earth First! [see *Anarchy* #34, p.68] The IWW is not opportunist for being involved in the ecology movement. First off the IWW was involved in ecology long before there was an Earth First! I have been involved in the IWW for 22 years and I have always viewed myself as a radical environmentalist. The first people I ever heard of

taking radical actions to save the redwoods were IWWs in the late '60s and early '70s. Next, y'all always get down on us for only dealing with the working class but when we deal with other things we become 'opportunists'. You cannot have it both ways. Next, from my viewpoint Earth First! people came to the IWW not the other way around. Next, there is no official alliance between the IWW and Earth First! What there is are joint members and support of common causes. I do not belong to Earth First! but I do support many of their actions and the joint work of IWWs and Earth First! in



Institute of Fatuous Research (BM JED, London WC1N 3XX, England).

Northern Cal. I think it's very good. Though I am not a part of the Earth First!-IWW group, not always agreeing with them. Next, you keep hounding the "One Big Union" idea. Let me say that all within the IWW do not see this the same way. I believe that the One Big Union is the organized solidarity of the working class, not just one organization. I believe that most IWWs both past and present see it the same way. The fact is that the IWW has worked in solidarity with many other labor organizations throughout its history, the AIT being one such organization. The IWW is rather different than other left and anarchist organizations because the true organization did not come out of some book or 'ism', rather it came from the experiences of ordinary workers. That is why it never really fit into anyone's correct line. You call its goals totalitarian, but that is a slam.

Why is it that we workers must always suffer under the control of ideological elites who tell us that we cannot control our own lives? The IWW stands for worker-selfmanagement, direct action and rank and file control. Is it not authoritarian to tell workers that they cannot organize their own organizations and control their own lives? If workers cannot control their own lives in your new world who will be their new masters? You? I don't say that the IWW is the only way workers should organize. I also belong to WSA-IWA and the International Class War Federation. It may even

come to be that workers organize outside of all these groups. What is important is that workers organize and struggle against their oppression and control their own struggle. If you cannot see this then maybe you should rethink your anarchism because if it leaves out working people then who does it include? I don't say you need to promote the IWW, just please quit trashing it. Outside of your anti-IWW words you put out a great paper. Leave the mud-slinging to the politicians and let us unite in the fight against all oppression.

for the well-being of all,
Arthur J. Miller
Bayou La Rose
POB 5464
Tacoma, WA. 98415-0464

Jason responds: Absurd accusations

I never said or implied that the IWW is "opportunistic for being involved in the ecology movement." It was the *methods employed* in initiating its involvement with Earth First! which I termed 'opportunistic', and they clearly were. From what I could observe, the IWW's 'alliance' with Earth First! was undemocratically manipulated by a relatively powerful faction of the organization which suppressed dissent. As far as I have seen as an outsider (though I admit I'm not an avid IWW watcher), this manipulation was never acknowledged from within the organization through its public voice, the *Industrial Worker*, despite the fact that many people, myself included, found the tactics and rhetoric used in announcing

the 'alliance' to be distasteful.

However, this is merely one incident (of which I happen to be personally aware) of what Gianni Collu and Jacques Cammatte term 'racket' behavior—which seems to be all too typical of most permanent organizations including leftist ones. I had no desire to single out the IWW for special criticism on this point. It just happens that I mentioned this incident in the footnote of a review dealing with anarchy and ecology. Then an IWW member wrote to complain, so I explained my position in a little more detail in response. However, each time I get another letter on this subject, the writers refuse to deal with my actual criticisms. Instead they accuse me of (or at least imply that I'm guilty of) all kinds of absurd things I have never said, like your suggestion that maybe I really want to be workers' "new master!"

And since when does my original criticism of the "One Big Union" slogan mean that I "keep hounding the 'One Big Union' idea"? You seem awfully sensitive about this! You may personally believe that "One Big Union" means "the organized solidarity of the working class," but that gives me little comfort. During the revolutionary years in Russia, many supporters of Lenin believed that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" only meant the power of the proletariat and not the power of an elite over the proletariat. Their naive belief did no one any good regarding a slogan that explicitly contains a threat of totalitarian intent. Why should anyone think that a slogan like "One Big Union"

means one big workers' self-organization, when it is far more likely in practice to result in one big elite-controlled organization. You ask, "Why is it that we workers must always suffer under the control of ideological elites who tell us that we cannot control our own lives?" I ask why people allow themselves to suffer under the influence of ideological elites who tell them that they must join their organization in order to do so!

Bulgarian anarchists

Hello anarchist friends,

The Federation of Anarchistic Youth (F.A.M.) in Bulgaria numbers over two hundred people from a few localities. Our federation was established in June 1990. Here are our highlights of actions in the last three years:

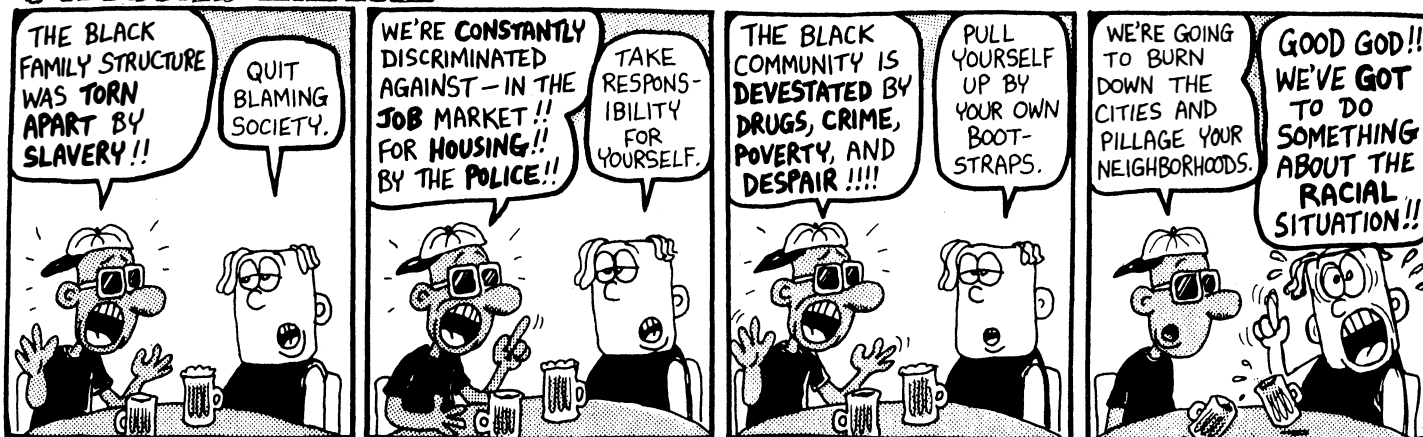
1990

- June 11-18, barricades in the streets of Sofia against the election manipulations from the political forces.
- July 3-Aug. 5, participation in "City of the Truth" against the communist president Petar Mladenov.
- Nov. 7, demonstration by the monument of Lenin, against seventy years to beginning of the Bolshevik terror.
- Nov., participation in the demonstrations against the Communist government.

1991

- January, demonstration at the USSR embassy against Soviet violence against Baltic countries.
- May 1, meeting with over three hundred participants

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-June 2, procession in Sofia to the monument of Christo Botev, the first Bulgarian anarchist and national hero, who perished for the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish power in 1876.

-June 26, picket at Bulgarian DS (State Security) and subscription for Radionov and Nuznetzov, two young Russian anarchists who were arrested in Moscow in Feb. 1991.

-Oct. 19, demonstration at British embassy in Sofia and presentation of a petition requesting release of all poll tax resistance prisoners.

1992

-May 19, anti-military rock concert at the Ministry of Defense for radical changes in Bulgarian army, reducing the time of military service and introducing an alternative civil service for conscientious objectors.

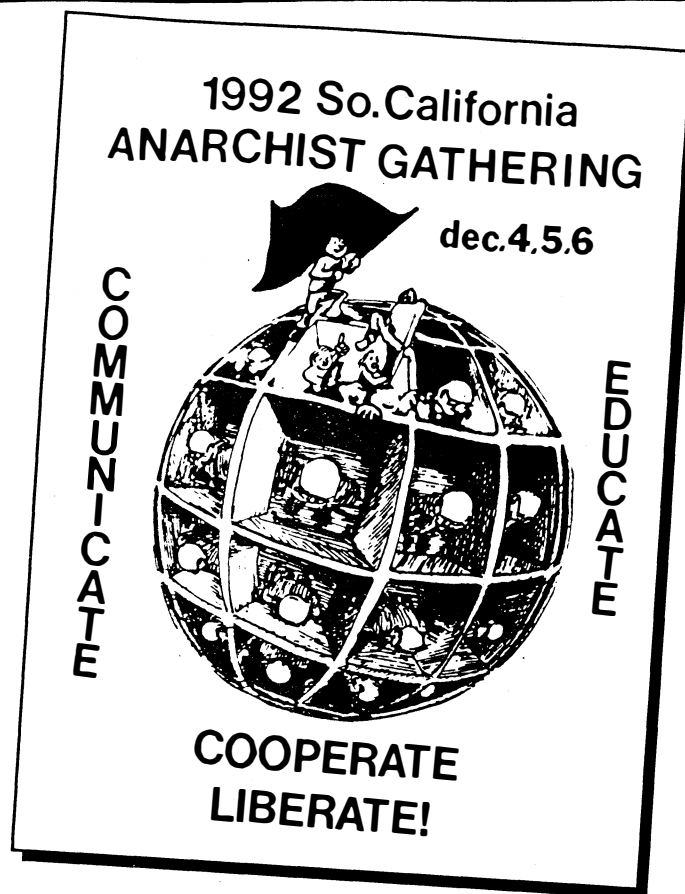
The Federation of Anarchistic Youth in Bulgaria wants to be in contact with anarchistic groups and organizations all over the world. If you like send us your periodicals, magazines, newspapers, newsletters, booklets, badges, cassettes with alternative music and other anarchistic materials.

Our new address (temporary):
F.A.M. c/o Antonio Grozdev
18 Nikola Slavkov Street
Et. 3, Ap. 6
Sofia 1463
Bulgaria

Southern California anarchist gathering

Greetings,

This is daren down here in San Diego giving you a report on the affinity so cal anarchist gathering that happened here in balboa park sept. 18th-20th so here goes. On friday night between 9 & 10 everyone shows up at the park & we all head on over to Soho cafe to go on an artwalk. There was a bit of confusion going down university ave. since people were walking well ahead of others who were posterizing leaving them exposed & unprotected which we quickly solved, going down park blvd. some lady confronted us about putting up these anti-amerikkkan posters & scurried away to call the cops on us! So we walked back down where we started



along the back streets attacking a church, throwing around trash behind a post office, & bashing a mcdonalds drive through intercom along the way. Back at Soho we talked (well bragged actually) about what we did who broke what window then divvied up all the out of towners amongst the locals for a place to crash & left feeling good about the success of the first time in anyone's memory that the entire anarchist scene in so cal did anything as a group. Saturday morning on the 19th after eating breakfast so kindly provided by the riot grrrl's in north hollywood we conducted a meeting for the creation of a regional organizing web collective first thing we talked about was the artwalk the night before how we were lucky no body spent the night in jail since we were such a large & highly visible group of people & that if we should ever do this again we should be more prepared & more organized. It was decided that the *Web* zine should be produced by every group in the web, i.e. long beach would have for two months then san diego, u.a.f., etc. We were

only able to squeeze in a couple of workshops on squatting in so cal, hemp before the show. A total of two bands flaked out on us so for a couple of hours after fire fighters for christ played who by the way are the only existing anarcho punk band in san diego we basically had to have an impromptu open mike free for all before a couple of jock hardcore bands played, oh ya & fire fighters for christ played preety dam good considering they were only a couple of weeks old.

Food not bombs! Long Beach served vegan food for all the gatherers. The owners of cafe chabalaba made a big stink over some graffiti that some of us made which was kinda funny since there was already graffiti all over the bathrooms & the sidewalk. I guess they decided to single us out as the ones to clean it up since they didn't like it that the band we booked for them was bumping all over the tables, oh well. After the show we moseyed on up to the park's organ pavilion, everything was set with the dj as far as the rave went but he didn't have any

equipment & the guy who was supposed to bring it didn't even bother to call us to let us know he couldn't make it which really sucked considering we had a lot of people waiting around for nothing. Sunday the 20th Anarchy drum parade & general wrap up was all that was started at 1:00 even though it was supposed to start at 12:00 but you all know how good of a reputation us anarchists have of being on time ha! We banged our pots & pans through the tourist section of the park yelling "Boycott Columbus Day!" which was kinda neat seeing the expressions on people's faces after seeing our black flags fluttering in the wind. "Oh look honey, real anarchists, take a picture before they get away!" We met up with the super sonic samba school on the other side of the park at pepper grove & then marched downtown to the pig whoops police station leaving behind some marked slogans. I thought the best part of the parade was these japanese tourists running out of mcdonalds asking what this was all about & then having to explain what anarchy meant, figure they'll have something interesting to tell their friends back home I guess. Then Food not Bombs had a potluck dinner at my house along with what was left of the gathering that didn't leave early. All in all the gathering was a real success, a lot was accomplished though some of the wymyn felt kinda left out of the meeting which of course was talked about & I hope solved. About 30 to 40 people were in attendance (depending which time of day you bothered to take a head count). Also by the time you read this we are organizing a black block at U.C. San Diego on the 30-31st to try & stop the administration's attempts to shut down the che cafe co-op, I'll keep you posted as to what happens with that & if anyone wants a copy of the first issue of the so cal *web* zine you can get it from Food not Bombs at p.o. box 4472, Long Beach, CA. 90804-0472 & you can of course contact us at our new address:

SDAF
POB 2111

San Diego, CA. 92112-2111

What introduced culture?

Dear Y'all,

John Zerzan has once again provided a fascinating contribution for *Anarchy* readers to ponder over ("Future Primitive" and the "Postscript," #33 & 34), not that Feral Faun isn't anything to sneeze at. I was absolutely stimulated by Zerzan's frontal attack on the myth that life has always been organized around hierarchy-work, patriarchy, anthropocentrism, *et al*—that I just had to throw out a few comments and questions.

The most recurring question that comes to mind after reading the main article is: what stimulated the need for 'culture' (or art, language, and symbolism as Zerzan defines it)? I don't think he ever really deals with this although he does brilliantly point out that culture was developed/introduced to manage conflict and tension. *But what was the source of the tension?* Obviously, people in these various 'communities' had ideas about reorganizing life around agriculture or male domination but why did tension occur? For there to have been tension, there must have been refusal of these plans of domination. If there was no refusal there would have been no need for implementing means of control and thus no need for 'culture'. Zerzan asks this question but never offers a possible explanation.

Let me suggest that maybe 'culture' arose as a *strategy for organizing refusal* of the introduction of hierarchical organization around agriculture (and along with it work, patriarchy, ecological domination, etc.). Let's imagine—after all isn't this all about making hypotheses—that small groups of people in each of these groups attempted to assert domination in one or many of these ways but were suddenly confronted with the sudden appearance of verbal intonations that allowed one person to communicate and coordinate with others their rejection of these new ways. At the same time, others began to symbolize the threat to their way of life by carving or drawing as a way to engender outrage and revolt. It is possible to read "cultural artifacts" from these

time periods as the use of symbols and language for defending their ways of living.

Besides, to attribute the creation of culture to the forces of domination seems to give the forces of power and control too much credit for innovation and creativity. After all, does not domination—or the systematization of death—feed from the ingenuity and creativity of the living? To say that the forces of domination devised symbolism and culture is the equivalent to saying 'entrepreneurs' succeed because of their own creativity and not the endless 'creative' work of people which the entrepreneur then turns into the means for keeping them working. Their only innovation is using *our* creativity to keep *us* working.

I am surprised that the possibility that 'culture' may have been introduced as a way to fend off threats of domination never appears in the article, considering that Zerzan has spent years demonstrating and circulating our forms of refusal and autonomous struggle. Sure, these cultural activities may have become institutionalized as the means of control (as in the Venus figurines) but that does not preclude its constant reconstitution for purposes of struggling to defend their way of life.

Zerzan offers us a concrete analogy to what he and others have been talking about for a while—creating new ways of living in the present that transcend work and other hierarchical forms of control. However, I'm puzzled as to why he does not draw a connection to new ways of living that *already exist* in the present, other than the last vestiges of these communities that attempt to do the same. After all, the title of his article is "Future Primitive." I think this is our greatest challenge: to demonstrate that we are already reorganizing the ways we live now in fulfilling, pleasurable ways. This is what Feral Faun, David King's letter, and Neal Keating's review of *Outwitting the State* all seem to suggest in issue #33 (way to go!).

This also raises a disappointment I felt reading the "Postscript." My hope that he would

return to examine such "futures in the present" was dashed as he laid out his blueprint to the day after the cataclysmic, 'quick' revolution. While I completely agree that we need to destroy the domination of agriculture, work, etc., he completely fails to mention even one single example of struggle or Temporary Autonomous Zone that both refuses and transcends these forms of organization. Instead we find ourselves 'obviously being held hostage by capital and its technology, made to feel dependent, even helpless, by the sheer weight of it all, the massive inertia of centuries of alienated categories, patterns, values," which all suddenly will be overthrown—by what?! If we are indeed so powerless, living "the whole canvas of damaged, alienated reality," surely Zerzan's own blueprint itself is highly unlikely.

This does not even account for his assumption that everyone will have to grow food and that all cities will need to be leveled while we all wander the earth as nomads, as if we are not already capable of transforming cities into something beyond "life-destroying monuments to the same basic needs of capital." That some people may want to do some or all of the things he describes does not mean that we will all want to do them. To assume so would be to impose yet another form of domination upon us.

Within the popular uprisings he mentions there are "strong feelings of joy, unity, and generosity" as well as a transcendence of racism, sexism, and "a sense of festival." But so do a countless number of other activities also exhibit many of these characteristics that illuminate future ways of living around our needs and desires rather than around work and domination.

The challenge for us is to find or create them, and that is not easy if one has been raised on the left or anarchist fare of the myth of capitalism's all-powerfulness. Maybe we could introduce a frequent section about "futures in the present" such as bolos, free spaces, or temporary autonomous zones to learn from, get excited about and inspired by.

We could further discuss the rapid rise of underground clubs/hangouts around the US, squats in Europe that are expanded into "community centers," self-publishers, hackers, cyberpunk sci-fi, scamming, so-called "informal sector activities," 'community' and pirate radio, traveler hospitality networks, 'hammocks', 'slackers', electronic networks, refusal of work, free spaces being organized in the universities, etc.

In jubilee,
Robert Ovetz
POB 49814
Austin, TX. 78765

John Zerzan replies: Division of labor

I don't presume to have all the answers to questions occasioned by "Future Primitive," but here's a stab at responding to the two you raised, Robert.

Very basic is the question, why the descent into symbolic life, what stimulated the need for culture in the first place?

I can't see an explanation that doesn't involve division of labor as its fundamental, "bottom line" factor. As specialization evolved, with glacial slowness and unforeseen consequences, so did a tendency, after time, to compensate for the erosion of non-symbolic modes. This compensation involved such steps as ritual, myth, and art, culminating in agriculture. With the arrival of domestication, a process whose first cultural step was apparently language reached fruition; the will to dominate had, from "very trivial causes acting without interruption," as Rousseau put it, completely altered our relationship to nature and to each other. Over a couple years, tiny changes were cumulative and somehow institutionalized; an unintended path to civilization, with its horrors and its culture that supposedly redeems it. The same division of labor that is overlooked today as an uninteresting banality, or fantastically developed, irreversible fact of (alienated) life.

Secondly, and not unrelated, is the question, why not provide a look at "new ways of living," at least one example in the here-and-now that "both refuses and transcends" domination? The short answer is that there is none. While

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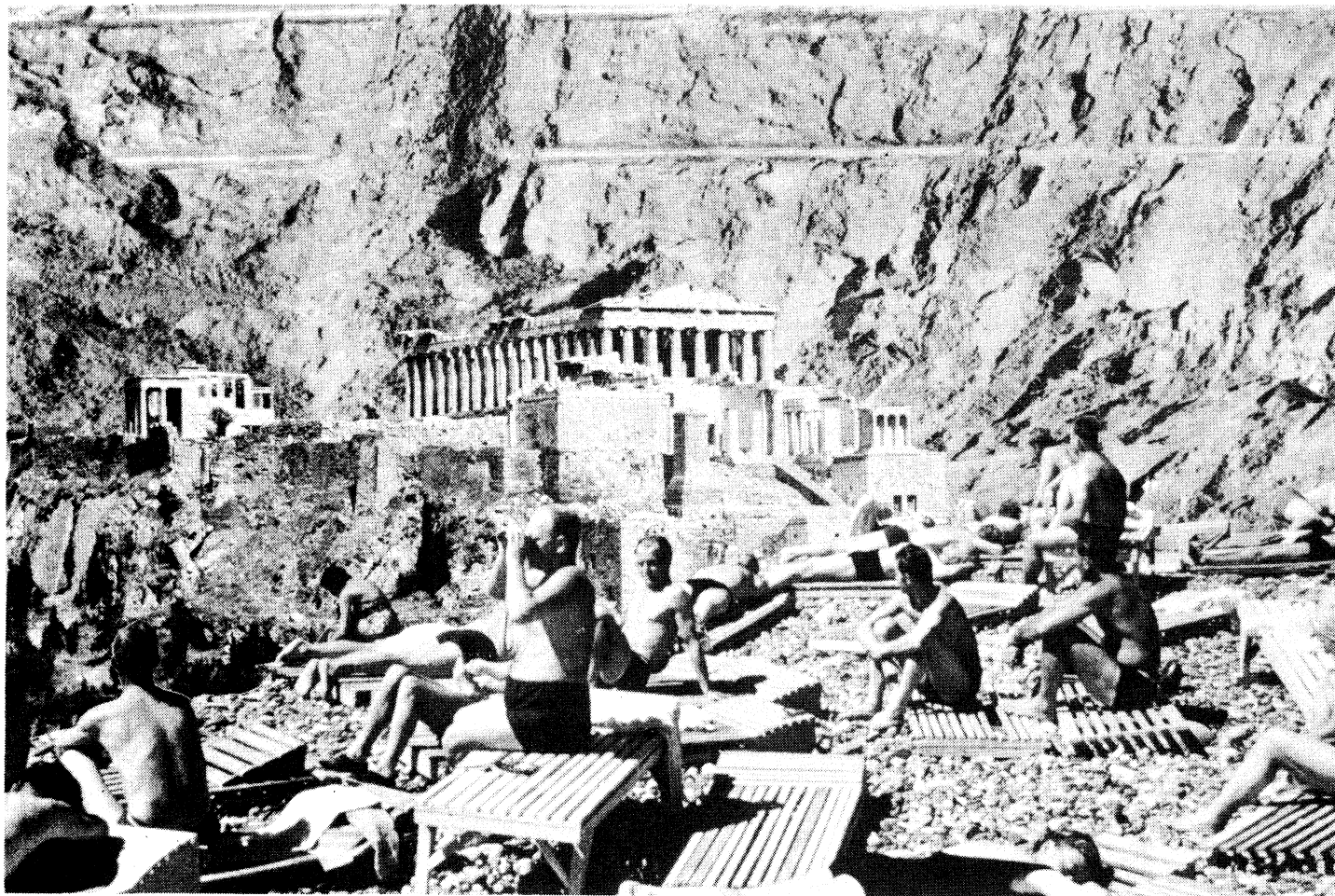
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some living arrangements or experiments are more pleasant than others, none escapes the defining hold of a world never more alienated than today's. There is no place to hide, no way to pretend that life can co-exist with the global contagion in health or fulfillment. To argue otherwise is to argue in favor of the system that degrades and destroys.

"Advanced Meaning"

Let me express that I am extremely gratified to see an ongoing debate between S.C. and John Zerzan surrounding Zerzan's "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism." There is a debate, should be one, and I think this is one of the best I have read so far.

I hope to attempt to commence not a rebuttal to either side in the present argument, but begin work on what I term a theory of "Advanced Meaning."

Before I do, a word or two about 'anti-intellectualism', which the commentator D.D. in *Anarchy* #34 makes a point about, as have others. Just let me say that I have been trained as a philosopher. During my stints with various 'communist' organizations, I have encountered heavy anti-intellectual feeling. Oppression knows no bounds and government repression of intellectuals is one of its main features. Now I also agree that nothing gets done by arm-chairs, nor does muddling the facts by "mental masturbation" prove to be a revolutionary course. However, a good pitch for anti-intellectuals would be somehow to show an *advance-ment* beyond sheer intellectualism, and give physical evidence of how we can overcome "intellectual stumbling blocks." Because the last thing we need is Professional Revolutionaries telling us artists, etc. are not serving the 'revolution', like

what happened in all the Soviet and Sino-Communist Blocs, including Cuba.

Having said that I must confess that I am not expert at all in the Poststructuralist mode of thinking. But I have been both a participant as well as a critic of Postmodernism.

I plan to go beyond Postmodernism in my attempt at advancement. Possibly an 'intellectualism' which makes use of real simplicity in its linguistic/semantic/philosophic approach would help.

I must admit that I am no brighter in economic understanding for having read Habermas. Marx's economic writings, though long and tedious, are centered on very simplistic formulae; that Capitalists of all persuasions "make their grand living" by surplus value, or profit, which is garnished from each dollar made by each worker.

The whole of *all* economic theory (any worth considering)

rests upon this simple relationship; and look at the damage this 'secret' of the Capitalists has caused!

Life may not be simple itself. In fact I am convinced that it is pretty complicated, but approaching an understanding of life itself can start with simplicity.

Much has been said of words. Radical pm-ers even sometimes insist on obliterating language itself, or creating new languages. We must stand at present realizing that both of these things have already been accomplished by the bourgeoisie. The obliteration of language is for totalitarian purposes. The new languages created can actually be used against the control experts.

The former statement can be proven in Orwellian terms. Abstract concepts, for many, many people, mostly working class, or more appropriately the *words* that define abstract concepts, like Democracy, Communism,

Capitalism, Socialism, Justice, Truth, etc.,—'abstract' because they denote *social* and supra-local concerns, have been rendered meaningless through abuse. I have found great confusion with words like these. Like "Freedom is Slavery" in 1984, "Democracy is equated with the Capitalist System, wherever that system is. "Bourgeois Democracy" is twisted into a *form* of democracy when nothing could be further from any *original* definition of democracy, which would have to be rule by majority, and extensions even from that. We are taught in school that Greco-Athens was the "first Democracy." But it is easily proven that Athens was an oligarchy, rule by an elite Senatorial class. So doublespeak existed in the Ancient World.

Must we fear long-term definitions? No, not if they correspond to something real! C.L.R. James, in one of the most important documents of the 20th Century, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, scientifically proved, using informal logical progressions, that what was 'Communism' in the Soviet Union was actually Capitalism by *definition*! The State, or Communist Party there sat back in the Soviet Legislative power buildings and got rich from surplus value. Also, they 'updated' Marx's own works to create new meanings from different concepts. Should this be allowed? Can we change meaning so easily? Is this the same as a poetical 'cut-up' from Brion Gysin?

So many words in our languages are absolutely meaningless at this point of history that, as Zerzan admits, we are faced with a 'postmodern' situation. Many words now mean the opposite of what they originally meant. Nothing is more dystopian than the 1984 scenario which exists all over the world now—totalitarianism is here now, well advanced. We are the "*last humans*" if we don't find a basis, a simple fundamental, that a world revolution can move on.

Secondly, I claim that some of the new languages, like computer languages, can be used against control. For instance: INTERNET is a computer link-up that makes available the free

transmission of ideas and information through computer networks. The danger lies in its being coopted by the control agents who run the big-business computer companies. Also, the "Symbol-languages" being used to literally talk to apes and dolphins are just revealing that an entirely new perspective of our world can be opened up by such communication. This will help us in our search for advanced meaning.

Any word, or group of words, cannot originate from anything else than a concept or group of concepts. Concepts originate in the minds of human beings (probably animals too). Most actions/effects toward or on the world originate as concepts. There are 'spontaneous' actions, such as slapping a child for something not approved by an adult, or even another child, but these actions are simultaneously constructed in the mind's 'eye'. They cannot be divorced from biological processes which occur rapidly but are surely brain-functions. The mind acts itself concurrently with the body to produce a gestalt of objective/subjective conditions for action to take place.

The pattern is mind=conception=action. This relation is not behavioristic, it is scientific in the *original* meaning of that word—verification of facts by observable and/or somehow provable principles.

This basic pattern, provable in many ways, can be the launching pad for an advancement in human ontology. Harking back to Habermas, I learned more about economics in one of the best works on a different but related subject: John Logue's *Toward a theory of Trade Union Internationalism*. This work, available through Kent Press, in Kent, Ohio, is a shining example of using intellect to arrive at important conclusions. It is trimming excess mentality in order to get to the point. But it is not *unintelligent* in any way. In other areas, I have learned some things from the intellectually crowded writings of Albrecht Wellmer, especially in the area of debate on Postmodernity, namely *The Persistence of Modernity*.

I can see where there is little time for smooth academic debates in a time of increasing revolutionary fervor. But it is true that a real threat to the *ability* to create a mass movement (desperately needed now) is the manipulation and desiccation of original conceptual language by those abusers of power who are presently in power all over the world. I plan to continue my political activism while at the same time attending to the intellectual pursuits of art and this "advanced meaning" philosophy I think can be developed. Anyone interested can contact me at the address below. I truly feel this will be an integral part of our 'informed' revolutionary progress: a formulated, or reformulated, theory of communication developed from the trialectic I have proposed exists in all natural perception of the universe. Let's be present for the revolution, but be present informedly, or we run the risks of allowing our minds to be controlled by the tricksters and ruinators of language and communication.

Gerry Sinfou
691 Kearny Avenue
Kearney, NJ. 07032

Way confused

Yo *Anarchy*,

Thought of y'all today when I saw your rag reviewed in the *Toronto Star*. [...] The last *Anarchy* I perused was the one with the positive adult/child sex 'evidence' article. A friend, who was sexually assaulted as a child, was quite angry at what he sees as a persistent failure on your part to discuss *power* relations in your 'pro-sex' rants. I don't have the article with me to refer to, but I was reminded while reading it of something *Fag Rag*-ger Charley Shively wrote in his essay "Boy Lover Bakunin" about Bakunin's relationship with Nechayev: "As in so many man/boy love relationships, the boy is seldom a servant; indeed the man more often than not becomes the slave of the child." Granted, that's an analysis of a power relation, but it doesn't strike me as a particularly radical one and it doesn't deal with the very real ways in which adult men wield power

over, in this case, children.

I also think you're way confused—that is, Jason personally, elsewhere in the same issue—when you write of "anti-sexual abuse" as (one of?) the most pervasive forms of sexual abuse in 'our' civilization. I understand what you mean by "anti-sexual abuse" but it seems like that term implies that there's such a thing as "pro-sexual abuse," as if all forms of *abuse* are not anti-sexual. And I'm going along with you here by using 'sex' to denote an absolute good, although I do think that attitude should be questioned. But for the sake of argument, let's agree on two points: (1) sex is inherently liberatory, absolute good, positive end in itself; (2) there's no such thing as "pro-sexual abuse." To further clarify point (2), let's say that sexual abuse may be ('pro-') sexual for the abuser, but can only be anti-sexual for the victim(s).

If we can agree on those two points, I have a hard time imagining how you can defend your use of the term "anti-sexual abuse." The distinction I would make between forms of sexual abuse is between physical abuse (*i.e.* violence) and psychic or mental abuse. Underlying both of these is the desire to control. I would put forced sex into the same category as spanking a child for masturbating, or playing 'doctor' or whatever, and I would put emotional manipulation for the purpose of domination (other than in the context of mutually agreed upon S/M playfulness) in the category you put "anti-sexual abuse" into. I would also argue that while a distinction has to be made at some point, I see physical and psychic violence on a continuum.

To put it another way, I feel that as pro-sex anarchists we should be anti-(sexual abuse) rather than anti-(anti-sexual) abuse on the one hand and anti-((pro-) sexual abuse) on another. That may seem overly semantic, but the language we use affects the way we think and our ability to express our thoughts to others, and especially within a society in which all forms of sexual abuse are so wide-spread and *sex* is one of the biggest capitalist commodities around,

we need to *think* before we talk about fucking liberation.[...]

Li-ber-a-tion,
T., Newmarket, Ontario

Jason comments:

The power of confusion

Please excuse me if I suspect that your sexually assaulted friend isn't in actuality more worried about our failure to condemn children's free sexual expression than he is about our alleged "failure...to discuss power relations." The bottom line with the most of our critics seems to be that if we don't categorically condemn sex between people with some arbitrary difference in age, or sex *per se* before some arbitrary age, then we're the hopeless dupes of evil child molesters! As soon as people can calm down enough to start talking in non-absolutist terms about the subject, we'd be happy to deal with the question of power in more detail. As it is, however, that's a bit like asking a person you're clubbing to discuss the power relationships between people, when what s/he really needs to do is somehow convince you to stop clubbing her/him. As soon as people stop clubbing us with transparently authoritarian demands, the discussion of more subtle power differences will make a little more sense.

I have to admit that "anti-sexual abuse" is not a very good term for the pervasive social problem I wanted to point out, although I don't agree at all with your reasons for disliking the term (nit-picking reasons at best). Since issue #33 appeared, I've decided that "sex-negative abuse" is probably the best term I'll come up with for it. Though no one will ever get public funding to study the question, I'll wager that in this country sex-negative abuse is more prevalent than what is usually termed sexual abuse, though it may well be less virulent on other continents. How many children were (and are every day) physically punished in some way for sexual behavior, intimacy or nudity? The question is simply not asked by 'official' researchers. Still less has research been done on the mechanisms and techniques massively used to condition children to avoid and fear sexual contact, intimacy and nakedness, or even the sight



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and feel of their own bodies.

I don't think there's any need to agree that "sex is inherently liberatory, absolute good, positive end in itself" as you say. At least, I don't think anything is inherently liberatory or absolutely good in itself. One might want to defend the freedom to eat if there were anti-eating zealots running around. But that wouldn't mean that we would thus have to think eating was inherently liberating or an absolute good. Neither do I think there is a need to worry that people are suddenly going to go around calling sexual abuse "pro-sexual abuse." You seem awfully squeamish about your terminology here. It is possible to be raped while feeling turned-on sexually just as it is possible to be abused while feeling sexual about the involuntary abuse. It does not make one any less a victim of assault whether one is physiologically aroused or not. Though peo-

ple heavily conditioned to think of sex as dirty may well feel more personal guilt if there is some element of physiological excitement present. (And for those people waiting to pounce on my comments, *no*, I'm not suggesting that people enjoy being raped or abused, except, of course, when the terms 'rape' and 'abuse' are themselves abused for some ulterior sex-negative purpose, i.e. consenting statutory 'rape'.)

Anarchy and race?

To whom it may concern,

Does anyone out there in the anarchist movement know of anything at all concerning the concepts of 'anarchy' and 'race'? I am looking for anarchist approaches to issues of racial in-/justice, anarchist theory which treats questions of race, writings by anarchists of color, historical accounts of anarchists of color,

and related topics. I am mostly interested in what has happened and is happening in the U.S. I have been searching anarchist bookstores, reading anarchist periodicals, and asking people at anarchist coffeehouses and gatherings if anyone has any ideas, but I have very few leads so far. I have a book (very poorly written, I think) by Carolyn Ashbaugh called *Lucy Parsons*, and I have been told to read up on the early years of S.N.C.C. Otherwise people just shrug their shoulders and say "ask so-and-so." But the next so-and-so never knows anymore than the last so-and-so.

Now I know that there are excuses, some more valid than others. I also know that for the most part anarchists' hearts are in the right place. However, I think that it is time to admit to ourselves and to each other—in public—that the anarchist movement in Europe, North America and even

Latin America is overwhelmingly white: the activists are white, the theory is white, and our future will be white unless we do something to make it more colorful.

I think that it is lazy and irresponsible of us (especially those of us who are white) to simply say "as anarchists we are against hierarchical relationships, and that obviously includes being opposed to the idea that one race is superior and another inferior" and leave it at that. Nor is it adequate to abstractly proclaim that "the struggle against _____ (choose one: state, capital, megamachine, system, hegemony, technology, civilization, alienation....) is a struggle for all people of any and all races." I also don't think that it suffices to print a few short articles on the Black Panthers, the Mohawks or on any other non-white non-anarchist

radicals. I am not against such efforts, I am merely saying that our efforts have not, as of yet, gone far enough. I would embarrassingly add that from what I can tell Marxists, feminists and liberals seem to be more successful in addressing these forms of racism within their movements than we are.

As a modest beginning towards a more honestly multi-racial and multi-cultural anarchist movement, I would like to ask for an inclusionary discussion of anarchy and race. I would like people to write letters which share resources, experiences, knowledges, ideas, proposals and anything else which seems like it will help out. Please don't hesitate to point out something which may seem obvious to you—it may not be to me or someone else. I would hope that the character of such a discussion would be safe, supportive, and encouraging. Too often we viciously attack or attempt to intimidate each other instead of offering constructive criticism of our theories and actions. We should be able to admit mistakes, problems, and shortcomings, and it should be alright to ask for help.

Sincerely yours
for a diverse anarchy,
Eric,
180 Dakota Ave. #D
Santa Cruz, CA. 95060

Being good

To whom it may concern,
Lev & folks,
I have recently moved...I

made the mistake of being good which, since I wanted to stay at maximum security resulted in my receiving a reward I did not want—transfer to lower security. Santa was checking his list and made me go.

Please keep the journal coming to fill my days and years. I still leave 5 May 2008 and that is a Monday. In the meantime even in fascist razorwire land I still live Ammon Hennacy's "One Man Revolution" every day. Even in here they just have my body, the important part, my mind, is 'free'! Tell your readers they are only free if they think free. Ask your 'free' readers if they have thought 'free' today.

Society is 'revolting'
(you can say that again),
Robt. Kim Walton, M.Ed.
Box 1368-A175-ManCI
Mans, OH. 44901

Ps. Lost my only pen-pal after ten years (an 85 yr. old nun in a car accident) enclosed is my *Who's Who* bio, post it for consideration, isolated is not my style. No romance or money desired just intelligent correspondence.

"You wanna screw around?"

Dear Jason & Toni,
I hate to burden you with all this letter writing, but since your magazine is one of the very few venues by which accurate information and unorthodox opinions on intergenerational sex are able to see the light of day in this country, I feel obliged to make use of this opportunity, in hopes

that it may improve the living conditions of someone, somewhere. I am writing in response to the letter from T., Baltimore, MD. [see *Anarchy* #34, page 79, "Right to rape"].

While one may be tempted to dismiss the letter, since it seems as if T. somehow read Joel Featherstone's article without any of its contents actually reaching his brain, it is clear that his beliefs are representative of those of a significant segment of the population, including those who are otherwise cool enough to read *Anarchy*, and that a good many others are uncertain what to think on this subject, which has probably received more unchallenged false reporting in the mainstream press than any other issue in the last ten years (I know there's plenty of competition for this distinction, but you'd be surprised what you'd find if you read enough about this stuff). It is primarily at these folks that my reply is aimed.

T. is determined that very painful, negative experiences such as his own near-rape not be seen as benign or wanted by the child. He attacks Featherstone's article, convinced that it is merely a rationalization for rape, disguised by the term "positive child-adult sex." When he sees the sentence "No one doubts that negative child-adult sex occurs." & "No controversy exists regarding the fact of child sexual abuse...." he apparently misunderstands this to mean that the author is implying that we should doubt that negative child-

adult sex occurs. Blinded by strong feelings (which I've had a lot of lately), he fails to see that what the author is saying is that there is more than one kind of child-adult sexual experience. The many works cited by Featherstone make it clear that there is indeed a very wide range of experiences, and that the majority do not, in fact, involve force. I should say that my own tentative conclusions from reading basic research are that a sexual experience will be negative when it involves force, coercion, or is preceded by strongly sex-negative teachings (this is true regardless of the ages of the participants, although the sex-negative teachings may gradually lose some of their effectiveness after a while), and it will not be strongly negative when these factors are not present. The positiveness of an experience depends on the amount of physical pleasure it imparts, and/or the degree of emotional fulfillment, which is usually the main factor in positive experiences. T. may be interested to know that the research cited by Featherstone strongly supports the statement "all (or at least virtually all) cases of forced sex between an adult and a child (or anyone else) are experienced negatively" and that there are, to my knowledge, no organizations that would disagree with this. As for "Child rapist fantasies about a desire for sex (or the possibility of it) on the part of the child..." well, anybody who was in the sixth grade when the ratings for

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"Charlie's Angels" peaked, should have no problem with the assertion that it is possible for a 12-year-old to desire sex with an adult.

T. also lashes out at anyone who is attracted to young people. He uses the term 'boy-love' to describe an attempted rape, perhaps not knowing that if the man had been a member of NAMBLA, his behavior would be grounds for expulsion, and that NAMBLA's position on age-of-consent laws includes a demand that children be given legal equality with adults, allowing them to retain attorneys, press charges,

and file lawsuits without dependence on adults (it should be noted that most negative child-adult sex is not rape by a stranger, but coercive incest with a natural parent or step-parent, who, under US laws legally own their children and control their belongings and legal matters; the most traumatic cases of child-adult sex, with very serious long term effects, occur when the child is taught by one parent that sex is 'bad', and then subjected to both coerced and forced sex with the other parent repeatedly, over a period of years; giving children freedom to choose where, and with whom, to live would be much more helpful than simply denouncing sex). His experience at the hands of a would-be child rapist lead him to conclude that attraction to children and impulses to rape must be connected, despite the fact that few women-rapers are attracted to children; and believe it or not few child rapists are either (researchers have known this for a long time, and they're just now starting to ask 'why'). When you find someone attractive, typically the first thing that occurs to you is how to get on their good side, not how to traumatize them (!). T. wonders what the adult is getting out of 'child-sex', as if to imply that these relationships need to be more 'profitable' than others, presumably to make up for the reduced value that he places on



Ms. Chiph.

the lives of children. When you wonder "What makes someone attracted to children?" ask yourself "What made Fred attracted to Wilma?" "Betty to Barney?" "Me to my Lover?" When you figure it out, let me know. As to the cliché, quasi-marxist theory of "an insecurity which generates a need for unequal and oppressive power relations in their sex life": what sane American feels secure? What average-joe male has equal power relations in his sex-life? Why does the list of 'boy-lovers' include: Akhenaten, Solon, Strato, Socrates, Plato, Alexander the Great, Trajan, Hadrian, Abu Nuwas, Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Nicholas Udall, Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare, Molière, Byron, Whitman, Tchaikovsky, Wilde, Gide, Genet, John Henry Mackay, Bayard Rustin, Igal Roodenko, Keith Haring, Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, and Hakim Bey?

T. says Featherstone's "'I-am-the-oppressed-pervert' rhetoric is overblown," and says "These people have fucked up my well-being not once, but twice." I don't want to make light of T.'s experience, but I must respond: I saw no such rhetoric in Featherstone's article, but his letter in @ #30, and the article by David Sonenschein in #34 offer some clues as to some of the forms this oppression takes. On a personal level, I haven't had any well being to speak of for

about five years. Not being as fortunate as 'unrepentant' (in the same issue), I'm not attracted to 'adults' at all, but rather to 12-17-year-old boys. I've had one good sexual experience in my life, in high-school over ten years ago, and may not ever have another one. I have no intention of enduring this condition for a prolonged period, thus speculations as to my future are alas, highly speculative. I have left my home, family,

'career', and the most beautiful small city in the country, in hopes of finding a place where I can get by ...no such luck yet. I've had about three good nights' sleep in the past year, and for about a four month stretch a while back, I was crying myself to sleep every single 'overblown' night. I have used up lots of space already (explaining in plain language what would be obvious if not for two thousand years of church/state/media shit-blitz), and I don't want to displace any more "Jason Responds" (that's one of my favorite parts) so I'll wait for another issue to go into the thousands of people who are in prison for doing what I've been too scared to do: asking a kid politely, "you wanna screw around?"

Peace and Love,
D.M.,
San Francisco, CA.

Patently bankrupt

Dear editor,

I'm glad to see *Anarchy* defending the rights of children to have sex with whoever they please and of adults the pleasure of enjoying children enjoying themselves sexually. I actually defended this thesis in front of all sorts of people before I found out that there was a journal dedicated to this idea (among many others), so I was happy to find out that I wasn't

totally out of touch with reality.

The most recent article on child-adult sexual relations, "On Having One's Research Seized," while exceedingly well-informed with the facts could have used some logic. (Oh, Gawd! Not that!) The 'argument' that it gives for the anti-pedophiles (from David Finkelhor) is patently bankrupt. It basically reads like: sex with children is off-limits. Into this conclusion I've only been able to come up with two 'arguments', each distinct from the other, though with the same conclusion:

(1) Sex with children is off-limits because they aren't sexual creatures by definition and so can only be coerced into sex with anyone (including other minors). The problem with this is it begs the question. There isn't any argument and no facts which show that children aren't sexual creatures. In fact there is loads of evidence which points to exactly the opposite conclusion.

(2) Sex is abhorrent enough an act with adults and so is even worse with children, who can do it for pleasure and don't have to worry about consequences. Unfortunately, as it turns out, certain pleasures aren't evil and I (and just about every other human being) take sex to be one of these. As for the consequence of not having any consequences from having sex: since the advent of contraception and abortion, humanity has known that heterosexual sex needn't have any sort of complicated results. Add to this that there is nothing wrong with homosexual sex, none of which results in pregnancy, and the stupidity (for that's what it amounts to) of the 'argument' is so great that one wonders why some people subscribe to it.

It's taking me a while to read this issue of *Anarchy* (#34/Fall '92), so I haven't gotten through to Zerzan's "Postscript to Future Primitive...." I doubt, though, that there's anything there that could possibly convince me of primitivism. I guess I'll take this time to apologize for writing that Zerzan should shut up or write for some other journal. My rhetoric faculty got out of hand. (Then again, if Hakim Bey can

get away with suggesting that we ought to burn works by Andrea Dworkin....) I haven't really given all my arguments against "Future Primitive" (all my previous ones being a defense of an abstract human nature). Here's the knock-down argument against Zerzan thinking that one beginning of oppression was agriculture: we don't know how the early Christians lived in their daily goings-on and we actually have written documents from their time, so what makes Zerzan think that he knows how culture was before civilization? Basically Zerzan's speculating in the dark, much like the theologian considering the sorts of knowledge one might have in the next life.

Thank you for your valuable time.

Sincerely,
G.T., Point-Claire, Québec

Practicing revisionism

Dear J.M.,

In your review of *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*, you advised the readers of *Anarchy* to not waste money on the pamphlet. You also stated that "It's undeniable that 'The Holocaust' has been magnified into a larger than life tale of historical racial persecution—largely in order to justify the continuing atrocities by Zionists in the racist state of Israel." I am not sure exactly what you mean by 'undeniable' and "larger than life tale," but I do not find such sweeping statements convincing.

You mentioned the suffering "of hundreds of thousands of people." I would say that it is undeniably more accurate to refer to the systematic killing of millions of people by the Nazis. By reducing it to a smaller than life suffering of a fraction of the number of people affected, you are practicing revisionism. Furthermore, one does not have to be a dupe of Zionist propaganda to acknowledge the true breadth of suffering in Nazi Germany and its relevance today. Israel has committed many atrocities, but it is preposterous to dismiss the extermination of millions of people because of what another nation is doing 50 years later.

It is possible to disagree with

Anarchist Contacts

This is a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of anarchist practice of one form or another. The list may help those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links based on their self-defined perspectives.

If you'd like to see your address added to this listing just write to us and we'll include your name, address, and a short (20 words or less) description of your perspective, practice and/or desires. Each contact address will be run in two successive issues.

(Note: We are only compiling this list, we are not endorsing the positions of those who have asked to be listed.)

<p>Institute of Fatuous Research BM JED London, WC1N 3XX England</p> <p>Daniel May #165482 MECC 1-B-4 18701 Old HWY. 66 Pacific, MO. 63069 "25 yr. old professional male seeking correspondence with anyone interested in pedophilia, children's rights and sexuality."</p> <p>John Cline #71101 ASPC-Perryville POB 3300 Goodyear, AZ. 85338 "I'd like to correspond with anarchist poets, lyricists and artists to trade off our labors of love and wit."</p> <p>Unru Lee POB 10096 Olympia, WA. 98502 "Dreaming of regional communitarian networks ...hundreds creating alternatives to work, rent, education/science; also companions for cross-country and wilderness adventure."</p>	<p>Conspiracy M.E.D.I.A. POB 158324 Nashville, TN. 37215 <i>Publishers of Radical Pizza zine, R.A.D.I. music zine, and anarchist-oriented computer bulletin board Mondo Gordo! BBS.</i></p> <p>Ben Brucato 990 Thomas Dr. Ashland, OH. 44805 "Anarchic/agnostic musician, poet, artist, and writer. Strongly anti-racist, anti-superiority and anti-'pecking-order'."</p> <p>Psychoriot Sound c/o Count Zee POB 752 Crocker, MO. 65452 "Composer/axeman/music software programmer looking for any creative outlet for video, live or other projects. Relocating to Alabama. Advice?"</p> <p>Brian Metz POB 70551 Richmond, VA. 23255 "I wish to build correspondences with anyone sincerely interested in progression toward a shank-and-pig-free world."</p>	<p>Dale R. Gowin #91-B-0209 POB 500 Elmira, NY. 14902 "Anarchist activist and 'drug-war' POW seeks correspondence: counter-cultural movements and conscious social-revolutionary use of psychedelic sacraments."</p> <p>Joanne Bender 23 Linlake Dr. St. Catharines, Ontario L2N 2M5 Canada "Would like to correspond/share info & ideas with other anarchists/radical environmentalists/people interested/involvement with ALF."</p> <p>Thornton Kimes 605½ S. Main #2 Seattle, WA. 98104 "Bi anarchist seeks (bi) pen friends, friends to hang out with and give/receive massages to/from, cuddle buddies and/or a bi-anarchist household..."</p>
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the Zionist propaganda machine, and still see the relevance of past Nazi horrors to contemporary events. The fascist hatred of gays, Romanis (Gypsies), and other groups persecuted by the Nazis, in addition to Jews, has continued to this day. I was thankful to see a letter from Germany in the same issue (Fall '92) which mentioned the reality of rising fascism there. This has been all too easy to observe in the last few years.

I was in Dresden last year at the time of a Nazi murder of a man from Mozambique. This year when I went back to perform theater in the same city I saw a march of hundreds of Neo-Nazis. When we went to Heidelberg, people had to guard

the front entrance of the autonomous center where we performed, due to previous attacks by the fascists. In particular, they were afraid something might happen because of our theater being well publicized as a gay play. Last week, a friend of mine was performing in one part of a cultural center in Germany, while the neo-Nazis attacked a disco in another part of the same building. Unfortunately, these stories have become all too common.

Of course, this is not only a phenomenon within Germany. There have been numerous similar stories coming out of many other countries. The current rise in fascism poses many questions for anarchists, including how can

we effectively fight this? Also, it is clear that governments use the fascist attacks to justify more police and repression.

Today is the anniversary of Kristalnacht, a horrible evening more than fifty years ago with consequences for our times. Tonight there is an anti-racist demonstration here in Amsterdam (yes, racism continues to play a role in the 'liberated' Netherlands), and there are many other actions around the world.

The lead story in the European mainstream media today is about anarchists 'ruining' a demonstration headed by Chancellor Kohl, President Von Weizsacker, and other German politicians who want to improve Germany's image in the eyes of the world. That is, the politicians want the image improved, while the anarchists demonstrated that Kohl and his cronies are a farce. The German government's decision to deport Romanians, and their scapegoating of these 'darker' people testifies at the least the government's acquiescence to fascist demands, and at worst shows how the neo-Nazi thugs in the streets are merely a non-official wing of the prevailing, if unspoken, ideology.

Of course, the *New York Times* and their cousins in Europe cannot fathom why people cried at the Kohl party because the media of record accepts and promotes the false sincerity of the government, and cannot tolerate anything that smells of anarchy. This is especially critical to them at a time when Germany's image is an underlying cornerstone in the creation of the United States of Europe. I cannot remember any act in the name of anarchy which has received so much attention in recent times (and soon probably acts of retaliation against radicals). I look forward to further discussions of such topics in the pages of *Anarchy*, which seem much more relevant and press-

ing than some undeniably 'sappy', to quote your review, pamphlet on historical and hysterical revisionism.

The sad reality is that the modern day Nazis deny the past Nazi atrocities as a method to deny their ideology, and gain support for themselves in their ongoing appalling quest for their perfect race.

Groetjes (Greetings),
M.W., Amsterdam, Netherlands

Jason comments:

No racists of any type

It is true that some neo-Nazis have denied past Nazi atrocities in attempts to gain support from sympathetic (but more squeamish) racist elements, although just as many modern Nazis seem quite proud of claiming a heritage of racial atrocities. All in all I have no argument with your assessment of the situation in contemporary Germany.

I do have some problems with your reading of my very short and negative review of *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*. I have no desire to minimize Nazi culpability for the atrocities they actually committed—which are legion. The statements you object to, in fact, do not imply that I want to "reduce..." [The Holocaust] to a smaller than life" episode. What I do object to is the pervasive and very obvious use of this episode to serve Zionist propaganda purposes to the exclusion of a more balanced historical view. The propaganda version of "The Holocaust" indeed has "been magnified into a larger than life tale of historical racial persecution." As such it has served as a very effective prop for the aggressive defense of the racist state of Israel from effective criticism. To speak out clearly from a perspective critical of both Nazi atrocities and Israeli atrocities (and U.S., Japanese, Soviet, Chinese and

Arab as well) requires that one not be taken in by their respective propaganda machines. It also requires that one not imagine that all anti-Zionists want to minimize Nazi atrocities, nor that criticisms of propaganda uses of "The Holocaust" necessarily involve an attempt to reduce its importance.

Civilization is a child of catastrophe

Dear *Anarchy*,

[...] I particularly enjoyed John Zerzan's essay, "Future Primitive," in #33. I've been running across the same sources (re: lifestyles of the Paleolithic era) and coming to many of the same conclusions as he has. I have a slightly different hypothesis regarding the origin of civilization, however. There's quite a bit of evidence showing that about 17,000 to 10,000 years ago our planet was in turmoil. This was a period of mass species extinctions (most of the large mammals died out then), and the world's ocean levels rose by up to 300 feet during that time. This would no doubt have affected human populations drastically, as people tend to cluster around rivers and coastal areas.

British astronomers Victor Clube and Bill Napier (*The Cosmic Winter*) suggest that this, and other catastrophic episodes in Earth history, might have been caused by cometary or meteor bombardments—which, they show, may be far more frequent than paleontologists and geologists have heretofore assumed. Shortly after this particular episode, human beings began farming. A later bombardment episode (around 3000 B.C.E.) seems to correspond with the development of the repressive, bureaucratic state, the building of pyramids and temples, and the reappearance of sky-god religions among Indo-European and Semitic peoples.

As Zerzan points out, anthropologists no longer think that Neolithic innovations in food production were the result of some inevitable evolutionary urge, since they carried so few benefits and entailed serious long-term costs. Rather, the emerging consensus is that farming was a response to overpopulation and environmental stress. Warfare (according to anthropological research carried out by Carol and Melvin Ember of Human Relations Area Files),

like the need for agriculture, seems linked to natural disasters. The implication of all this is that civilization is a child of catastrophe. If the initial phases of civilization resulted from a kind of collective post-traumatic stress syndrome, then perhaps civilization itself represented a mechanism for re-traumatizing each new generation in order to preserve and regenerate its own psycho-social basis.

I hope to develop this hypothesis in much more detail in the near future. In the meantime, I would welcome any comments from John Zerzan and *Anarchy* readers.

Thanks and best wishes,
R.H., Santa Rosa, CA.

Defending the Left Green Network

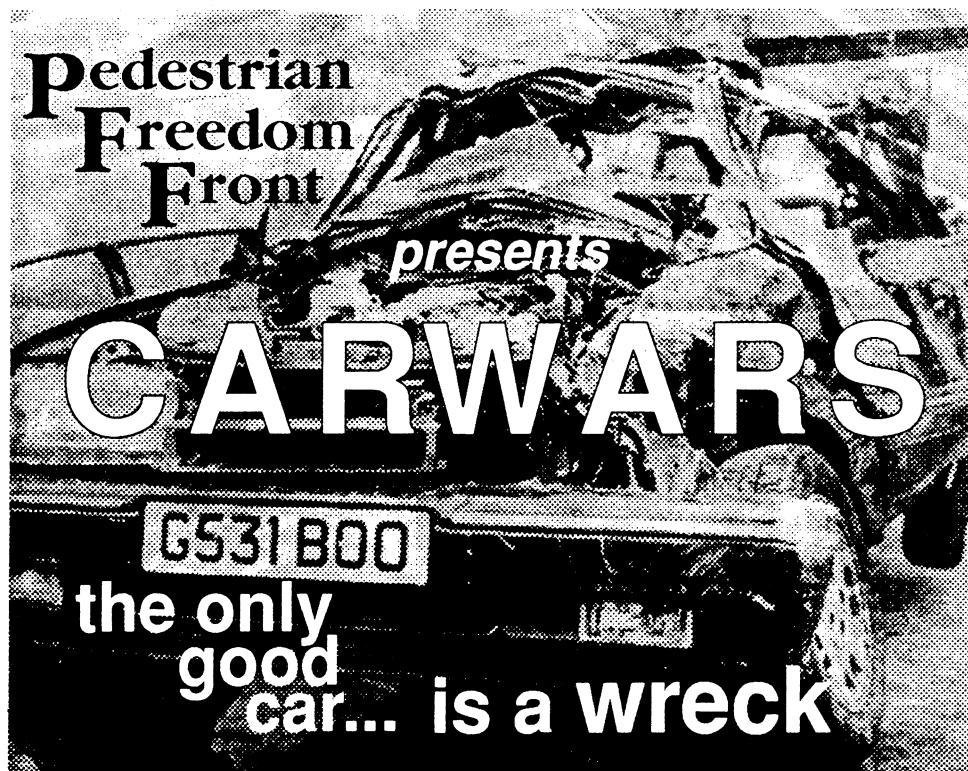
To the Editor,

One could just ignore Max London's whining in "Slagging Off the Left Green Network" (*Anarchy* #34, Fall 1992) if he had continued (for some reason) to keep his targets anonymous. But near the end he names me and attributes statements to me that I did not say.

To set the record straight:

1) I did not say that "anarchists who argued for direct action and not electoralism were splitters." I said that the conservative Greens in the Green Party Organizing Caucus/Green Politics Network, which believes in electoralism divorced from direct action, were trying to split the Greens/Green Party USA, which wants to combine direct and electoral action in one organization.

2) I did not say "unity is paramount." I did say that the kind of 'party' (i.e. organization) the Green movement should have is one where the membership decides policy on both electoral and direct action, as



Institute of Fatuous Research (BM JED, London WC1N 3XX, England).

opposed to a Green Party doing electoral action separated from a Green Movement doing direct action, which the conservative Greens have been advocating. And I said that we should *not* unite with electoralists who want to keep their 'party' divorced from direct action.

3) I did not say that "this [attack on direct action] was consistent with the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Malatesta." I did say that Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Malatesta used the word 'party' to refer to the anarchist movement in their writings. And I said anarchists should relate positively to this general sense of the word 'party' and instead focus on the actual policies and practices of Green organizations.

It is obvious from Max London's ill-informed jumping to conclusions that he doesn't have a clue about the internal debates and struggles in the Green movement. Nor does he grasp even the ABCs of confederal municipalism. London thinks confederal municipalism believes "the local state is good but the national state is bad."

The direct democracy of a citizen's assembly is not a "local state" and a national confederation of citizen assemblies, linked by mandated, recallable, and rotating representatives, is not a "national state." The hierarchical rule of professional politicians, bureaucrats, and militarists is statist, whether they are in municipal, state or national office. Anarcho-communists like Kropotkin and Bookchin have always made the distinction between assemblyist and federalist forms and statist forms a basic tenet. And the anarchists in revolutionary movements that were able to begin to put these ideas into practice like the Paris Commune and the Spanish Revolution understood these distinctions.

But a revolutionary social theory like confederal municipalism that tries to *think* through a way to apply anarchist precepts in today's concrete social and historical situation does not seem to be what London wants. He complains, for example, that Left Greens criticized capitalism as an 'impersonal' system rather

than personalized the issue as the evil people in the ruling class. London wants to reduce anarcho-communism to a few bumper stickers the good guys can shout at the bad guys.

It is the simple-minded sloganeering and cynical sectarian sniping exhibited by London that lends credence to the cartoonish caricature of anarchism one finds in the capitalist and state-socialist press. It gives anarchist-communism a bad name among activists who want to build a popular radical movement rather than merely posture self-righteously in splendid isolation like some holier-than-thou Christian sect.

If London had spoken up in the sessions he dismissed as "manipulative and authoritarian" instead of sulking off outside by himself, he might have begun to understand who and what he was dealing with at the Far West Left Green Network conference. Nobody stopped London from speaking up but himself. If he wants to go witch-hunting for authoritarians, he should start with a look in the mirror because it was only the internalized authority inside him, not so-called East Coast Left Green leaders, that stopped him from speaking up.

Howie Hawkins, Syracuse, NY.

A very sick warped man

Jason,

I have read the articles/letters by the 'justified' child-abusers in yer paper. It is not that their "point of view" should not be printed...but then *when* are you going to start printing "points of view" of mass-murderers and rapists?? One letter, you print claims he was abused at home—then saved by a gov't worker just to be sexually exploited and then grows up to be an abuser himself—and at that a school teacher! A very sick warped man indeed. Then you print a piece by a so called 'researcher' harassed by the gov't. By yer thinking Jeffrey Dahmer, Ted Bundy, etc. are also 'justified' in their abuses of others—just cause "the gov't is against them." Such thinking is warped and has *nothing* to do with @. In @ I'll tell you what—such exploiters and

abusers such as yer weasly pals in NAMBLA *would be shot on the spot*. Even now if I ran across any of them on the street —I'd beat the shit out of them. *Period. You give @ a Bad Rap. A very Bad rap. You help the Gov't by doing so.* I myself was a victim of such an abuser as a child, and I see this Abuse I as a *product of church & state!*

Barrabbas, Mt. Ranch, CA. Ps. *You* like the Catholic Church are responsible for attempting to whitewash this issue. It is apparent *where* you stand on this—you sympathize with the James Porters of the world.

Jason comments:

Victimism has nothing to do with anarchy

Just like many of the other types of self-professed 'victims', you cannot seem to distinguish between consenting relationships and abusive ones, with the result that you advocate the most moralistic and authoritarian of 'solutions' to a complex situation. I think most genuine anarchists understand that there is nothing libertarian in categorically denouncing any class of relationships which include both consenting and non-consenting, exploitative and non-exploitative instances. Your attempt to lump every such instance together regardless of particular conditions places you in a peculiarly nasty position of visiting threats of sexual repression and/or death upon people whose only 'crime' is that they engage in relationships with people you think are too young.

The fact is that no one has said that anyone was ever 'justified' in molesting you when you were younger. And as far as I'm aware, in these pages no one has ever said that *anyone* is ever so 'justified'. It seems to be quite clear and unanimous sentiment that non-consenting relationships are intolerable. Therefore you need not feel so threatened that what other people freely decide to do with each other is not what you would want to do.

Children are not always and everywhere 'victims'. There is no need for you to imitate (with children) the victimist ideologues who see women only as sexual victims when it comes to heterosexual

relationships, and who therefore want to prohibit all heterosexual sex. Victimist ideologies have nothing to do with anarchy and everything to do with repression and authority. Those who feel uncomfortable with sexual freedom have no inherent 'right' to visit that discomfort on the rest of us with prohibitions and threats. Anarchy requires the willingness to live in peace with an immense diversity of people engaged in an immense diversity of relatively freely chosen relationships.

Vicarious military fling?

Dear Jason,

What are the real reasons that George Bush is getting us involved in Somalia? Is this one last vicarious military fling of an aged lame-duck President? Does this reflect the humanitarian limitations of a rich white Republican, i.e. the only way he can show compassion to another race is to invade their territory for their own good? Or is this the start of an American staging area for future armed adventures in the Persian Gulf area? Will the troops be home for Christmas...1993? Stay tuned for the next episode of U.S. Lone Ranger to the World and his trusty sidekick, U.N. Tonto.

L.T., Madison, WI.

Many were disturbed

Anarchy,

I am writing this letter in regard to your published debate in the anarchist community.

While I am anti-bureaucratic, I would not define myself as an anarchist. Of course these days people call themselves anarchist who are anarchist-communist, syndicalist, or even supporters of the so-called free market.

However I leave the theory to those who are more well read than I. Recently at meetings I attended at Intentional Futures before I became homeless, a disturbing issue came up.

A young woman who had attended an anarchist convention in Ohio gave us a summary, and spoke of a debate on sexual relations. A discussion of sexual relations which has also been written about in the journal *Anarchy*.

The discussion did not concern male-female sexual relations. The debate did not concern same sex, sexual relations. Instead the discussion focussed on adult-child sexual relations.

According to our female fellow worker's report, many were disturbed that the issue was being discussed. A more accurate way of putting it, would be that many were disturbed that anyone in the movement would question whether or not this constitutes child abuse.

I for one am surprised and disgusted. However perhaps I should not be surprised considering some who call themselves anarchist, also support the so called "free market," and "free trade agreement."

How anyone in the anarchist or feminist community can see clearly the exploitation of women, and then question the abuse and exploitation of children, is beyond me.

I would like to point out to *Anarchy* readers that children in Amerika are considered property. The reason psychological, physical, and sexual abuse of children are rampant in the United States, is directly related to the fact that children have no rights.

Children are legally considered the property of their parents, to use as the parents see fit. This is why the fascists are obsessed with what they call "parental rights."

Now we see the left becoming confused, not only with the granting of civil rights to children being the solution to child abuse, but as to what constitutes child abuse.

The journal *Anarchy* is not alone in this. Several years ago there was a case of several children being sexually abused in a Los Angeles day care center. After days and weeks of testimony, the right wing jury decided the children's testimony was too incredible to be believed. This was in spite of clear medical evidence that the children had been sexually abused.

The capitalist jury and judge then freed the defendants. Later a Trotskyist newspaper published an article calling the prosecution of the defendants an attack on women and minorities. The main

WE ALL LIVE IN WACO

THE QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY AND COMMUNITY, completely denied and rendered desperate, finds its home in Jonestown and Waco. The sense of truly being alive and of belonging has almost nowhere to go in the society whose two fastest growing classes are the homeless and prisoners. Daily existence is increasingly that of despair, depression, and derangement, punctuated by news of the latest serial murder spree or global eco-disaster, consumed as horrible entertainments in the emptiness.

DEBORD expressed the situation accurately: "It should be known that servitude henceforth truly wants to be loved for itself, and no longer because it would bring some extrinsic advantage. Previously, it could pass for a protection; but it no longer protects anything." Even the apparatus of oppression concedes virtually the same point: *Forbes*, organ of finance capital, commemorated its 75th anniversary with a cover-story theme of "Why We Feel so Bad when We Have it so Good." In the Psychological Society at large, in which the only reality is the personal, its hallmark denial and delusion are challenged, almost ironically, by the definitely impoverished realm of the personal. More and more clearly, the choice is between craven servitude or a qualitative break with the entire force-field of alienation.

IN A CULT everything that an individual has is invested, the only guarantee against the total refusal of that cult. How else, for example, could it be endured that wives and children were offered up to David Koresh and blind submission obtained rather than revolt? Evidently autonomy and self-respect can be freely given over when the world so thoroughly devalues them.

NONE OF US is immune from the horrors, commonplace and spectacular; the immune system itself, in fact, seems to be giving way, and this is not confined to AIDS or TB. The stress of work, according to a March report on the UN's International Labor Organization, is advancing to the point of a "worldwide epidemic." The overall situation is gravely worse than when Nietzsche observed that "most people think that nothing but this wearying reality of ours is possible."

CURRENT reality has become impossible and continues to lose credibility. We must be outsiders, never represented, investing nothing in the death march we are expected to help reproduce. The ultimate pleasure lies in destroying that which is destroying us, in the spirit of the Situationists, who, when asked how they were going to destroy the dominant culture, replied, "In two ways: gradually at first, then suddenly."

—John Zerzan

defendants were the woman who ran the day care center and her son.

Somehow the medical evidence was lost on both the jury, and the leftist journalist. This is not surprising considering that,

our society has conditioned us, to always believe an adult, over a child. Some would call this ageism.

My personal opinion is that any adults who have sexual relations with a child should be shot.

I would also consider execution to be the correct way of dealing with anyone truly guilty of rape.

Would the same anarchist who philosophizes over whether adult-child sexual relations are wrong, question whether rape is harmful to women?

To a child, any adult is an authority figure. In Amerika, any adult is an authority figure with legal rights, over any child, none of whom have any legal rights.

Is it possible that the anarchist movement has been infiltrated by authoritarian pedophiles, who wish to abuse anarchist children?

Would the same 'anarchist' who questions the reality of children's sexual abuse, question psychological physical abuse of children?

Will *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* dare publish this letter? Time will tell.

in solidarity,
R.M., Seattle, WA.

'Pedophiliocidal'

Dear *Anarchy*,

I am writing in response to your "unrepentant pedophile" of last Fall.

Sir,

First of all, I would like to apologize for what your mother (and society) did to you. Call me crazy but I don't think 'mothers' who force their children to masturbate in front of them are exactly 'sane'.

Second, I want you to know that I am a 21 yr. old college student who is preparing to teach elementary school and I love children more than you ever will!! But I have the presence of mind not to misconstrue innocent affection for wanton sexuality. Hugs and kisses are completely innocuous when coming from a child and you have no right to say otherwise! I work with kids that come from good home situations and bad home situations, mostly bad.

These children don't want sexual activity, they only want to be loved for who they are and your acquaintances are obviously not getting that at home.

As I wrote the original copy of this letter, I was unavoidably salivating on the page because I am so angry I could puke, and

you mark my words..if ever, ever find out who you are I will kill you, I swear to god, I'll fucking cut off your penis and shove it down your abusive throat!!!!

It's people like you that damage my profession's name and make people like me want to just give up for fear of being wrongly accused. People like you cause children to think that affection = sex. I'm clenching my teeth so hard I'm giving myself a headache.

You don't know what love is, you don't even know who you are!! But (as I relax my fist a bit) here's what you need to think about, you seem to be forgetting the most critical part of your childhood, which is not that these events occurred but how they made you feel at the time!

Break the cycle man, break the shit out of it!!

Pedophilicidal,
C.B., Lexington, KY.

Ps. If you like comic books, try *Night Cries* (Batman series) hardcover edition and *Spawn #5*.

Keep the last page of *Spawn* in mind you bastard.

[Due to the seeming inability of C.B. from Lexington, KY., Barrabas from Mt. Ranch, CA., and other exemplars of the I-will-kill-people-who-don't-agree-with-me school of letter writing to curb their tendency to make violent threats, we will no longer print letters which contain this type of intimidating language. It is my hope that these people get some help from their friends, and attempt to overcome their attraction to perverse violence, whether or not it is limited to such verbal threats. I don't think their words have any place in a forum such as this, and I have no desire to continue typing this type of shit. I would be happy to hear from readers concerning their opinions about this. -Jason]

Independent state of Qwa-Ba-Diwa

Dear Editor,

I am writing to inform you and your readers of the declaration of the Independent State of Qwa-Ba-Diwa, which comprises the second largest old-growth rainforest in the World and

nearly 3500km² of land. This beautiful and rare ecosystem is being threatened with extinction at the hands of Big Business Clearcut Logging Companies. Since no treaty has ever been signed with the residing peoples, according to the British North America Act neither the Federal nor the Provincial Governments have legal jurisdiction there. The native peoples were expropriated from their land by the Police, for the State on behalf of Big Business. Now, since the Native peoples are faced with imminent annihilation, the result of genocidal policies enacted by the State, these people are returning from the concentration camp to their ancestral home. They have pledged non-violence, but they will not leave their home at any cost.

Human Rights and Liberation organizations have been mobilized on the Island to help with the cause. We are now working on informing the international community of this issue which affects each of us. I will be joining my new people there soon to help defend the last 3% of old-growth remaining on a once overgrown island, the largest island in North America. Their society of which I am a part is matrilineal, communitarian and agrarian-based. Voluntary cooperation and mutual aid are practised here where elsewhere they are only theories in a dreamer's mind. The struggle of the Qwa-Ba-Diwa and other Native peoples is allied to the struggle of oppressed peoples everywhere. Native Liberation movements are involved, the international media has been informed as with Amnesty Int'l and the General Secretary of the United Nations. Legally, we feel that this is an airtight case. However, with the Police, State, Media and Big Business interests at stake, we may see unjustified State-sanctioned violence against these people. We hope that we may be able to count on the support of the international community should violence of this type break out. By working on this we also hope to increase and strengthen the flow of aid between struggles, as we feel that the time has come to turn up the heat on the system which is

designed to kill the planet.*

Organizations that one would never have seen together a year ago now recognize the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—unlimited growth from a finite source, and the lengths that the hegemonic groups are willing to go in order to preserve the order. They refuse to admit that capitalism is falling apart at the seams, but the people are reading between the lies and connecting the dots and are beginning to see what lies up ahead. We must bring our economies to a stabilized level, not a sustainable development, but a sustainable system which is both non-capitalist and non-Statist, if we are to be able to look beyond the next 50 years.

If you would like more information, or would like to lend a hand, contact:

John Shafer
Concerned Citizens for
Aboriginal Rights
71 Menzies St.
Victoria, B.C. V8V 2G3
Canada

Independent State
of Qwa-Ba-Diwa
Terry DeLine
#1203-850 Bidwell St.
Vancouver, B.C. V6G 2J8
Canada

Yours in the Unity of Struggle,
S.D., Victoria, B.C.

Amazing fluke

Through an amazing fluke I received your #33 Summer issue. The censorship within Ohio's prisons (esp. here in Lancaster) is extensive, arbitrary and capricious: only what I expect from the State-Parent in its most evil form.

Much thanks for the 'zine; excellent articles/letters and contacts. I especially appreciated the well-thought-out pieces by Zerzan, Perlman and Churchill, but I have one serious criticism/question: where is the bibliography to back up Zerzan's citations? I have argued many of the same points he takes on, if only from an intuitiver 'knowledge' of how life must have been prior to language/symbolism/civilization, and I want to be able to study these references of his myself to be able to back

up my arguments when debating the 'value' of the Progress Ethic.

His article only deepened my thirst for new paradigms by which to view our culture's obvious instinct toward death and ecological suicide.

Another piece which I agreed with was Feral Faun's "Insurgent Ferocity: The Playful Violence of Rebellion," though I probably have less opportunity to practice rebellion than those in the 'free' world. Having lived under the total repression of prison for six years, I enthusiastically look forward to being a participant and helper in 'monkeywrenching' the institutions of social control after my release. From within, I am forced to use their own system against them (legal) so have studied civil and constitutional law for the past four-and-a-half years. I have one suit completed and ready for filing in the 6th District Federal Court regarding the unrestrained censorship of antiauthoritarian/ alternative, religious (other than Christianity) and other underground literature. It is an excellent suit and my family has paid for an attorney to help guide it through the court system: I am hoping to take it to the Nazi-fied Supreme Court where they will be forced into a political/moral dilemma over whether to follow the conservative party-line or whether to defend "freedom of speech" and uphold the First Amendment (which it is their sworn duty to do). I have already faced reprisals for my use of the "inmate grievance system" and now have a small-claims suit in a local court over their destruction of my personal property, loss of legal papers and confiscation of various letters/photos/etc. for no good reason.

The best thing about being here is the perspective it gives one on the ruthless evil of our State and the true value of freedom (which 99% of the 'pod-people' Zombies out there have no idea is being denied to them). They have the bullets and guns; we have only truth and the need for autonomy. Gandhi believed all you needed was truth: I have to take exception and add that it doesn't hurt to have some TOW missiles and C-4 and EMP-generators to de-

Letters

stroy their communications and buildings, in order to begin to break their chains.

Bob Black's letter "Type 3 Anarchy" was good (I just ordered *The Abolition of Work* from Last Gasp Press) but I haven't grasped what exactly Type 3 Anarchy is. It seems that most modern autonomists want to oppose every 'system' or 'organization', yet benefit from the structures they would see destroyed. Though I have embraced many concepts of anarchy, and consider myself a Free-thinker opposed to all forms of external authority, I see the need for a consensual Synarchy as the transitional politics leading to a stateless society.

Your publication stands out among all the undergrounds I've laid hands on. Please send me a copy of your Winter issue—which may or may not make it through the 'screening'

here—and *Thank You* for thinking of us prisoners. The Ohio Dept. of Rehab. & Corr. has already placed a ban on *Overthrow* (which I haven't seen an issue of since 1980!) and if they censor your pub I will include it in my suit. We're now setting it up as a Class Action suit and have over 20 books, magazines and tapes which they've censored.

E.M., Lancaster, OH.

Prison labor camps

Hi, please excuse the form letter. I've been transferred to (yet) another one of the federal government's prisons—this time to Leavenworth Penitentiary, of all places. For those keeping count, this makes my 4th transfer in 3 years, a right tour of the Gulag Archipelago! With all this moving around, courtesy of our nation's most exclusive airline, "Con Air," whose motto seems to be "You have to be indicted,

to be invited"!!! I hope to obtain a little breathing room with this so you can get my new address as soon as possible and I can spend more time in writing personal letters. I'm way behind, having spent most of my summer in the Hole with nothing but a stubby pencil and a few scraps of legal paper. Expect a letter from me soon. I have "mail forwarding" until Oct 12, so unless it's been returned, I should receive anything you've sent—even-
tually....

A little on why I was sent to Leavenworth—home, some say, to 1,400 of the nation's most dangerous criminals; it's a long story. I was sent to Englewood to await transfer to the latest Federal Prison Complex opening in Florence, Colorado—the infamous "Robo Prison"—the latest in High Tech security, the "Prototype Prison of the future." Florence promised a de-humanizing experience designed to break anyone unfortunate enough to be incarcerated there.

I was being shipped there when it opened because of my long history of instigating Food Strikes and Work Stoppages at those other institutions I was thrown out of. Also included was allegations I sabotaged war production at the Federal Prison Industries (Unicor) during the Gulf War—never proven...All this made the Feds lose patience with me and Florence was supposed to straighten me out.

I didn't really want to go to 'Roboprison' to experience first hand all the lovely Orwellian security apparatuses the feds were so excited about, especially when I learned the feds built their prison near an area that has been on the Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund priority list since 1984 for toxic cleanup! Neither, I found out, did any of my fellow inmates at Englewood. So we banded together and organized in the most chaotic way possible some sort of resistance to going to Florence. Several projects were

planned, including a letter writing campaign; a petition to the local chapter of the A.C.L.U. seeking some kind of injunction halting further prison construction until an independent Environmental Impact Statement could be compiled outlining the possible biological health hazards associated with the almost unbelievable allegations of criminal negligence of the nearby Cottler Corporation—uranium waste in the ground water, radioactive dust particles in the air. It wasn't long before the



Collage by Ms. Chip.

prison administrator caught wind to what we were doing and the whole lot of us was tossed in the Hole. I'm afraid we weren't very effective. I was looked upon as the 'ringleader' and 'instigator' and sent here to Leavenworth to 'chill'. More on this later. I'm looking forward to hearing from you, Thanks for everything!

You asked me in your last letter if I could write something on my experiences in federal Prison, so I'm sending you a 15 page photocopy on one aspect of my incarceration-Work. This piece of Government propaganda, written no doubt by some wannabe Goebbels, speaks for itself as far as showing how completely out of control our Government has become.

As you can see, our Federal Prison system has a close and very unhealthy relationship with the Military/Industrial Complex in this country. What does this mean? Unicor/F.P.I. is a private government corporation that uses cheap inmate labor for profit and provides the Military with needed supplies and components for its imperialistic goals. This Government propaganda tells you the "F.P.I. is the number one inmate management tool for overcrowded Prisons," but it doesn't explain *why* Federal Prisons are overcrowded in the first place! When you consider the evidence linking the C.I.A.-Iran/Contra-Bush/Noriega connection with the increase in drug smuggling over the past ten years, and the thousands of individuals incarcerated as a result of the "War On Drugs," maybe instead of "F.P.I. is the number one inmate management tool for overcrowded Prisons," it should read "Overcrowded Prisons are the number one tool for management of F.P.I.!" With over 80 factories across the vast chain of the Gulag Archipelago and untold billions in profit, Unicor is a very lucrative business to be in!

In using this simple formula: More inmates = More factories = More Profits, it's not hard to see why the U.S. leads the world in the rate of incarceration and how we were able to mobilize for Desert Storm so quickly. Unicor has a slogan (believe it

or not) that says "Factories Within Fences," which is their statement as well as their goal. It has also been the goal for every fascist and totalitarian government of the past 60 years -from Nazi Germany's "concentration camps" to Russia's "Gulags" to China's "forced labor camps." Are we really surprised to see the same thing in this capitalistic country too. Where social control and profit margins run hand in hand?

With the awareness of the recent bill-H.R. 4079, the "Emergency Drug and Crime Bill" that Newt Gingrich and Phil Gramm tried to introduce into legislation last year, it's important to understand that the Gulags *do* exist in this country and that Unicor/F.P.I. is the model.

James Daniel Armstrong

#04617-051

U.S. Penitentiary

P.O. Box 1000

Leavenworth, KS 66048-1000

(For a copy of the above-mentioned article [entitled "The Persian Gulf War-Federal Prison Industries"] write *Wind Chill Factor* and please send postage: P.O. Box 81961, Chicago, IL. 60681.)

"Either/or" frenzy

Anarchie,

i feel i need to respond to the directive being leveled on "men who fight first, foremost, and only for lowering the age of consent" which appeared in the mostly *wow-enlightenment* article "A Young Dyke's Feminist Perspective." i would expect this to be directed at members of NAMBLA since this organization is more widely known (and subject to widespread destructive misinformation-whether tactfully or ignorantly) in the usa.

From what i know of NAMBLA (and i state here that i am currently dissenting from it constructively) it is an organization that only began for defensive purposes of men and dudes who were being arrested/harassed more

often as hysteria was lit against them. As a defensive organization it, granted, revolved around the facet of the thing that was affecting its people's (men and dudes)-sexuality. Nowadays, NAMBLA's interests still center around sexuality, in defense of such relationships. But further, they have developed a position paper which names *various* wider NAMBLA positions on young people's rights; then again, i personally have not noted any real activism for kids' wider rights-but i can also empathize with the possible self-imposed restriction. In 1982, the f.b.i. made illegal attacks on NAMBLA around the Etan Patz disappearance (see "A Witch-hunt Foiled" put out by NAMBLA); and plus the real tendency of the hysteria-press to condemn anything in which NAMBLA's appears in a positive light. For NAMBLA and its 'out' leaders to openly work with kids is probably to bring worse hardship to those kids....

Secondly, these men (which have included myself) who fight seemingly only for the lowering of the age of consent (but actu-

ally as in NAMBLA, the abolition of it) may have no real possibility in their lifetimes of seeing this happen as a permanent effect. Why then, are they doing so, and does this stand automatically make them targets for other kids liberationists to scorn?

Are these men *really* only clamoring for the lowering or abolition of age of consent laws, or is this a bait conveniently shaped by our shadowy allies? i mean, people are complicated-we are all individuals. Those who stand and speak about things most heatedly unpopular, risking it all (quite seriously) in their fragile minority should be looked into by genuine constructive critics i think, instead of struck in the "either/or" frenzy. None of us are perfect, and are any of us never growing or progressing our horizons thru educational tools like this magazine?

Thirdly, sexuality in its entirety is not really spoken about in this society-underground or mainstream. Sex seems to be the heaviest issue; it may be intriguing to wonder why opponents want us to stop speaking 'just'

■ BOSSES. BEWARE

KILLING SPREES by disgruntled employees are on the rise in the workplace. Some say it's because of the growing sense of despair, frustration and alienation among workers losing their jobs. "A lot of them are actually trying to kill the company because they think the whole stinking place is against them. They just want to get even, and the more people that die the sweeter the revenge," says James Alan Fox, dean of the college of criminal justice at Northeastern University. "The message is: 'Look who's doing the firing now.'"

about it. i wonder if, because sex is such a powerful topic in this society, maybe it's a good idea to stand and speak up our opinions—otherwise who would get through this obstacle we all face?

Sex has been a rallying point for a hell of a lot of really divided emotions. If NAMBLA or other kid-power groups spoke centrally for anti-skool issues, they would probably more easily be silenced by the mainstream, since i think people aren't as familiar with the changing education system as they are with sexuality. i think from this rallying point it is much more powerful to spread out other ideas.

Okay, now that bicycle thing. okay, people with opinions, if bikes are so bad, i bet printing presses are pretty bad too...and all the methods of distribution, and postal mechanization...which use lots of quite parallel industrialization...ha ha! Jason did an okay job of replying to those who would feel guilty to ride a bike, but i would like to add to it: It may not be a constructive reaction to choose extremes based on someone else's opinions, but instead such critiques can be used to enlighten and get us thinking significantly. Here again, is an example of a subject in which emotion is attached and uncovers layers that are near our hearts—an article used to encourage people to contribute.

C.D., Kalamazoo, MI.

Racism and sexism

Dear Editor,

First off, congratulations on producing a nice looking issue (*Anarchy*, No. 35); your new format continues to pay off handsomely. Thanks also for the superb layout on my contribution, "The Stone Age Revisited." With that said, however, I must enter the strongest possible objection—as I would have before the fact, had anyone there bothered to inform me of what you were planning—to your having insinuated the silly little sidebar by John Zerzan into my text at page 41. I find it patronizing and insulting that you felt it somehow appropriate my work be published only if it were 'balanced', on the spot, by a

American sentiment

GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME HEAD.

©1993 by Mr. Fish (2 Cricket Avenue #5, Ardmore, PA. 19003).

mr.fish

differing (dare I say "more correct"?) view penned by one of your contributing editors.

The presumption of a student (me)/teacher (him) relationship embodied in your placement of his margin notes alongside my material is unmistakable and deeply offensive on grounds of both racism and sexism. Before you start to wax overly eloquent with denials, ask yourself this: May I expect that, in the future, you will allow *me*, whenever I choose, to inject my sentiments into sidebars accompanying the essays of other writers? Of course not. I will be told, appropriately enough—as Zerzan *should* have been, and *would* have been by any publication pursuing a principled editorial policy—that while my commentary is certainly welcomed, it will be published, not in direct juxtaposition to someone else's material, but in the 'letters' section of a subsequent issue. Double standards, such as you've displayed here—he gets to do this, but I don't—*always* carry the most negative sorts of connotations.

I readily admit that exceptional circumstances do arise, very infrequently, when an individual who has been privileged to read a manuscript before it is published offers commentary possessed of such rare insight, usually involving some new element or elements of information related to the topic under discussion, that it simply *must* appear alongside a major text. In such cases, publishing ethics—not to mention common courtesy—demand that the author of the original material be informed, so that s/he

has opportunity to rejoin the commentator right then and there. Such procedures not only serve to nullify the appearance of double standards mentioned above, they provide for a dialogue which enhances the utility of whatever is being said. Suffice it to point out that your own comportment has been rather wide of the mark here.

This, of course, leaves open the question of whether Zerzan's remarks fall with a "rare insight/new information" classification, thus warranting your publishing them as a sidebar rather than a letter regardless of your 'oversight' in failing to inform me that you were doing so. Well, what *were* these weighty points, the publication of which you seem to have found so urgent?

First, there is a thinly-veiled reference to that mainstay of Eurocentric mythology, the Bering Strait hypothesis, holding that the Americas were peopled "extremely recently" by folks moving in from Siberia. Now *there's* a real cutting edge concept! The notion of American Indian 'immigration' from Beringia has been integral to every introductory anthropology course in the United States for the past hundred years. If you thought this was going to be new stuff to your readers, then you have a very peculiar view of their collective level of awareness.

Second, there is Zerzan's monumental discovery that "domestication breeds hierarchy and domination," a banality he seems destined to repeat endlessly in your pages, including even a second iteration in the same issue at hand (at page 53, in a

sidebar adjoining Kingsley Widmer's "Anarchist Aesthetics"). Do you have *any* limit on how often you'll allow one of your insiders to take up space saying exactly the same thing? Let's say that *everybody* could've waited until your next issue to see this particular 'revelation' appear again for the umpteenth time.

So much for informational imperatives. Plainly, there were none involved in your decision to set this up the way you did. I am therefore left to conclude that your intent was more along the line of 'packaging' what I had to say in a certain manner—this is called "spin control" in some circles—rather than providing anything of substance to readers. I expect such behavior from establishment outfits (which is one reason I never publish in them, even when solicited); for a self-proclaimed oppositional journal like *Anarchy* to engage in the same practice is troubling to say the least.

In any event, since I was denied the opportunity of responding to Zerzan's observations when they were made, I will avail myself of the opportunity of doing so now. Taking first things first, the standard Bering Strait migration theory—which my critic blandly presents as hard fact—has never been supported by a shred of evidence. None. To the contrary, the archaeological and anthropological evidence in the Arctic strongly suggests that the main flow of migration in that region went the other direction, from North America into eastern Siberia (and into western Europe, for that matter). Moreover, the

further south one goes in this hemisphere, the older the evidence of human occupancy becomes: confirmed dating runs, contrary to Zerzan's remarkably uninformed assertion, well into the deep Paleolithic period (45,000-50,000 years); dating of a recently discovered site in Mexico has also been tentatively extended *much* further back in time, into the 200,000 year range.

For these reasons, among others, the idea of an influx of population into America across the Beringian Land Bridge—either at the dawn of the Neolithic, or at some earlier point—has long since lost currency among most serious anthropologists outside North America (and not a few within it). In the U.S., on the other hand, the Bering Strait hoax continues to be advanced as established doctrine by an "academic mainstream" devoted to sustaining it as a cornerstone of American apartheid ideology. Those interested in obtaining a more detailed examination of information in this connection—as Zerzan should be before offering any further Olympian pronouncements on the matter—might want to pick up a copy of Jeffrey Goodman's exploratory *American Genesis: The American Indian and the Origins of Modern Man* (New York: Summit Books, 1981) or, better yet, the late Werner Müller's *America: Old World or New?* (New York: Peter Lang Publisher, 1989).

As concerns the second of my critic's points, that regarding the supposedly intrinsic evils of domestication, domination and hierarchy, he wanders away from mere ignorance into a never-never land of the truly absurd. How, exactly, does he propose to eat without 'dominating' whatever it is—whether animal, vegetable, or both—he consumes? What in heavens name does he think a food chain is if not a 'hierarchy'? In what fashion does he—a being not blessed with fur, fang or claw—propose to survive absent the very forms of 'domestication' (by which he seems to mean "alteration through application of mind?") he condemns? His apparent preoccupation with the premise that humans might exist, or might *ever* have existed,

as some figurative equivalent to Bambi bounding through the bushes is laughably bizarre, at best.

The purpose of analysis is, in every tradition I've encountered other than that of the Western intellectualism Zerzan decries (but in which he is hopelessly mired), to understand the natural order rather than to abstract into something it isn't (but which we wish we were, or think we can make it). The trick in applying this knowledge is to figure out how to function within this order without physically destabilizing or 'philosophically' supplanting it with something 'new' and 'better'. In other words, the point is not to deny the validity of hierarchy, which is *natural*, but to learn how to keep our misapprehensions of it from strangling us and everything around us; not to pretend that domination is 'anti-natural', but to find out how to keep it balanced in such a way that no given entity comes to *predominate* over all others, not to arbitrarily denounce the 'domestication' upon which life itself depends (our critic's, not least of all), but to determine how it can be sustained in equilibrium with the rest of nature.

What my essay was designed to illustrate, no doubt imperfectly, was that these were matters indigenous peoples here and elsewhere divined rather thoroughly through their natural systems of knowledge while the synthetic world view devised by Europe's 'superior' culture could not, did not, still has not, and never will. This, not domestication, is the "dividing line" Zerzan insists upon missing while prancing off in the abstractions of a purist prattle intended to accomplish nothing so much as the securing of his own imagined position—customary among *Euromales*—at the vanguard of cerebral endeavor.

Every contention requires a proof, so here's mine: If John Zerzan is in any way sincere in his oft-stated belief that a non-domesticating, non-dominating, non-hierarchical "Mr. Natural" might actually exist in the real world, I hereby offer him immediate admission into an environment in which he, personally,

unlike the native people he'll find there, can try and put his vision into practice (even for a little while). When he declines, as I know he will, maybe he can be induced to involve himself in something a little less trivial and counterproductive than what he's been doing up till now.

For starters, he might attempt to mesh some part of his rhetoric to the reality of the world he actually inhabits. I'd recommend, while he's railing on and on against the hierarchy he finds everywhere but in himself—dominating discourse in the process—he try renouncing some of that hierarchy-based editorial privilege which allowed him to attach his sidebar to my piece in the first place. Along the way, he might just find that doing something in a 'respectful' way requires rather more than simply saying the word. Who knows what breakthrough insights could follow from there?

In struggle and hopes of solidarity at some point,

M. Annette Jaimes
Boulder, CO.

Jason comments:

We are responsible

Excuse me if I missed it, but I failed to see any solidarity—or even any great hope for any—in your diatribe. We don't ever expect everyone to agree with our editorial decisions, but in this case it appears that you wouldn't have been happy short of having been appointed editor yourself. You haven't invited us to edit any articles we might submit for your publication, *New Studies on the Left*, and I don't expect authors we print to demand such powers from us. That would be confusing the functions of editor and author.

Your vehement and abusive anger directed at contributing editor John Zerzan is completely misplaced. It was the decision of the *editorial board* as a whole here in Columbia to accept your generous, unsolicited offer for us to reprint "The Stone Age Revisited." And it was the decision of the same editorial board to ask John Zerzan to comment on your perspective in the hopes of furthering the ongoing discussion of the origins of alienation in this journal. Needless to say, he never

demanding to exercise any sort of "editorial privilege." Rather, we exercised our power as an editorial group to juxtapose your lengthy, well-developed and extremely interesting essay with a few short comments from his equally thoughtful perspective in order to clarify the differences. No disrespect toward you was intended. And there was certainly no paternalistic, nor racist, nor sexist intent on anyone's part. You obviously have a different perspective on editorial 'principles' than we do. But you submitted your essay to be published in *Anarchy* magazine, where our editorial principles and practices apply.

If you want to do so, you can attach editorial conditions to the publication of your submissions. If we had known of your wishes ahead of time, we would have either published your essay while respecting those conditions, or we would have declined to publish it. However, since we didn't know about your assumed conditions ahead of time, we couldn't act on them.

Otherwise, we will continue to edit this magazine as we think best. When it seems appropriate to us, we will solicit complementary or contrary perspectives to run with submissions in order to further comparison and discussion. Rather than a "double standard," this constitutes a standard operating procedure for many publications. There is nothing intrinsically right or wrong with such an editorial practice. It is merely different from the practice you idealize. There is no law demanding that every publication be edited according to some arbitrary set of principles, and if there was we would break that law anyway.

For those who haven't already figured out some of our major editorial 'principles', here is a short list:

We try to publish all submissions accepted as feature essays with as little editing as possible—in other words we will correct spelling and grammar when it seems that errors weren't intentional. Otherwise, we will not make any substantial changes without asking the author, nor do we expect any substantial changes or added conditions to be demanded by the author without our agreement.

We try to send proofs of feature articles to their authors so that they can check for any errors on our part. This is not always possible, especially when we receive submissions too close to our deadlines, or when we are not able to typeset submissions until it is too late to send proofs.

We will lay out submissions however we deem most appropriate. We will juxtapose articles and sidebars, or include introductions and responses to essays as we see fit.

Submissions which we decide to run in any of our departments ("Openers," "The Sad Truth," "Alternative Media Review," "International Anarchist News," etc.) may be edited for length and style.

We will continue to publish unedited all letters we receive which are not unintelligible, overly redundant or completely boring (and which don't contain threats)—as long as they are no longer than 4-pages, double-spaced in length.

Anarchy editors and contributing editors reserve the power to immediately respond to any letters received. All others may respond in the following issues.

Writers of letters and articles should remember that we don't publish this magazine purely in order to please their egos. Instead, we publish in order to stimulate, inform and entertain our readers. We don't claim to be perfect, but we do try to publish a fair and interesting magazine.

In regard to the criticisms of John Zerzan's comments, I think it also needs to be pointed out that the interpretation of his use of the words 'hierarchy' and 'domination' is quite mistaken. Historically, this has been a repeated point of contention between authoritarian leftists and anarchists. Anarchists so frequently use these terms to designate *social* and *institutional* hierarchy and domination, that they generally don't bother to explicitly indicate their conditional use in this way. This can cause unnecessary confusion when it is unthinkingly done in discussions which take place in authoritarian venues where people are not overly concerned with questions of freedom, in which cases the criticisms might have some import. However, in anti-authoritarian circles, the social and institutional context of these

concepts is generally understood and becomes no more necessary to reiterate than it is to explicitly note that "class war" in Marxist circles refers to the war of social-economic classes and not of other types of classes.

More on "anti-tech/civ." perspectives

Hi Jason,

Thanks for the issues of *Anarchy* #35. It looks great. I want to add a little bit to your excellent response to J.D. of Jersey City, N.J. [pp. 64-5]:

J.D., there is no single anti-tech/civ. perspective, or position. So formation of a cult is no more possible than it is desired by anyone I know (other than one occultist primitivist I know of who was living in Philly for awhile). As to the variety of anti-tech/civ. positions: *Fifth Estate's* position, at present, is a spiritual/moral primitivist position, uncritical of shamanism or tribalism and minimally critical of primitive culture in general. John Zerzan's position stems from an attempt to trace the origins of alienation which has pushed him beyond an uncritical primitivism though he still seems to want to find models from the past to define possibilities. Michael William's perspective seems to have many similarities to John's and is definitely, but critically, primitivist. Peter Wilson doesn't really fit in here at all since when he imagines a utopia, it is a high-tech, post-industrial, post-agricultural world in which "psychic paleolithism" becomes possible as technology eradicates work-not by any means, an anti-tech/civ. position. *Interrogations* (whom you somehow missed though they have frequently had pieces in *FE* and *Anarchy*) are anti-tech/civ. and anti-primitivist—rejecting some people's attempts to use primitive societies as models for their post-civilization utopia. My own anti-tech/civ. perspective is based on an examination of the present from the perspective of how I want to live. Like *Interrogations* I refuse the primitivist model, though I recognize there are things to be learned by studying primitive people...I find

much of John's and Michael's explorations useful. For the most part *Fifth Estate's* moralistic, spiritual primitivism pisses me off, but they still sometimes hit the mark. My perspective is also heavily influenced by Stirner, Nietzsche and the Situationists (none of whom were anti-tech/civ.) and is an utterly amoral perspective. So though my writings may be nonsense, the moralism is all in your head, J.D.

You also totally pass over EF! which is frequently moralistic. And I can only assume you've had little contact with many younger anarchists I find a large amount of these folks express an anti-tech/civ. perspective which isn't all that thought out—not because they're followers of *FE*, Zerzan, Williams, or any of the rest of the anti-tech/civ. theorists whom they perceive as aging armchair intellectuals and so refuse to read, but because they can see the results of civilization and the technological system all around them & they don't like it.

I could say more, but I'll shut up.

Feral Faun, Portland, OR.

Ps. A small but important typo in my (decidedly over-long) column, page 59, third column at the bottom should read:

"The purpose of therapy is to reintegrate social deviants into the social machine as well-oiled cogs." [end paragraph]

"The science of ecology is the application of systems analysis to biology. It creates a conception of the wilds as integrated systems to be used in an integrated manner by society."

Not a thorn

Dear *Anarchy*,

Rcv'd, yr. request for updating of 'prisoner' status to receive *Anarchy* [...]

I've got to laugh every time I read a letter from the warden here wherein he stalwartly states that he has again held the ram-parts against the onslaught of the latest *Anarchy*. Mine has never been stopped; I get so much unusual, eclectic and otherwise cutting edge material the mail room personnel barely raise an eyebrow anymore at anything

I get. I'm also not a thorn in their side with various legal harassments and that kind of superfluous bullshit (that gets you nothing but 'tsuris' and little else).

I knew one of the other guys here (now in Carrville, LA.) who got his issues stopped all the time. He never did learn, but then he did his time his way, thriving on adversity. I ask myself, before embarking on a course such as his, "Is the fucking you're getting worth the fucking you're getting?"

Best regards for the new year. I like the new glossy cover with the collages.

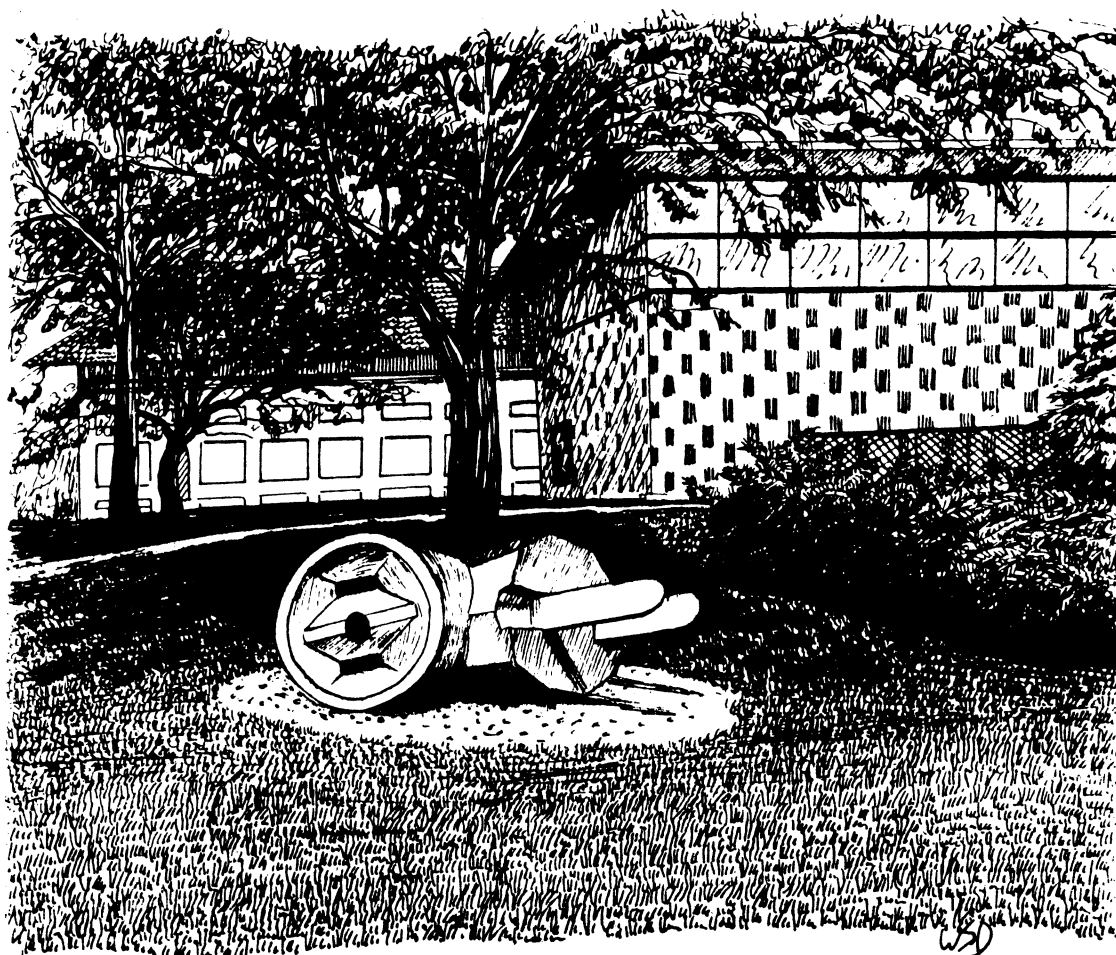
Dr. Sachel Pomme
[address deleted by request]

Honor the boys and girls

Dear Jason,

I've been a reader for some years now, often intending to drop a line but never quite getting to it.

First and foremost, *Anarchy* means a lot to me because of the courage you've displayed in exploring the issues surrounding "child-adult sex." The comments by one reader in issue #35 urging violence against pedophiles are hardly atypical in this society. The ingrained violent reaction toward minority sexual orientations is evidenced in the prevalence of gay-bashing, the State repressions against PIE in Britain, the jail cells filled with adults involved in non-coercive sex with minors, the 'hospitals' containing minors involved in such activities who refuse to see themselves as victims (while my brother was locked away in such a manner as a teen in the '70s the only benefit he accrued was from the secret sexual trysts he and his horny female co-conspirators enjoyed beneath beds, in closets and so forth)—such repressive violence is a pervasive, invasive character of this culture. As the experience of the Schiz-Flux folks exhibits, much of the 'counter-culture' is in fact a mirror image of the primary culture. When the *Smut* issue suggested that children should have a voice in the pursuit of pleasurable experiences, including sex with people on the other side of the arbitrary age line,



By W.S.D. (POB 80044, Akron, OH. 44308).

they were violently condemned by the Bookchin group and nearly assaulted by the monotone Rainbow Nation goons they encountered.

As G.V. wrote, there are complexities to this issue, complexities that are being addressed in *Anarchy* and that have been addressed from the earliest days by pedophiles. Concerns about the weaker position of children in society and the effects this might have on 'cross-generational' sex play, for example, are genuine. And pedophiles have sought to come to terms with this in forums such as *Maggie* and Tom O'Carroll's *Pedophilia: The Radical Case*. These are concerns that must continue to be explored.

By the same token I cannot believe that a consistent libertarian position can exist in opposition to the core idea—that people own themselves, regardless of whether they are 6, 16, or 66. An overwhelming amount of evidence exists that children find

sex play pleasurable. Certainly its form will differ depending on physical development, but in some form folks of all ages enjoy such play. If therefore a person decides this or that might be fun, any repressive coercion by the State, parents, sexophobes or anyone else would be a violation of that person's control of her- or himself. Given the climate in this country I realize that it is necessary to add that coercion to have sex is at least as much a violation and I also need to point out that this is true regardless of the ages of those involved.

In short here let me say that I agree with those who, in opposition to sexual freedom, say "let's hear from the kids!" Yes, let's—it's the repression that has taken their public voice from them. In fact, pedophiles aren't saying anything more than that—let the kids decide and respect the decision of each individual, whether "no way" or "yeah!"

As for those who've made

much of the fact that only pedophiles seem to be in the forefront of this issue (which isn't a completely accurate impression) and that we have an obvious vested interest, as if this somehow taints the issue, let me ask—who else will brave the social storm? The children have been silenced by lawmakers and parents. Pedophiles have spent their whole lives feeling under attack for the sort of heart-swelling enthralled love-desire that is celebrated when directed toward people on the socially accepted side of 18. We look with starry-eyed affection at a beautiful child laughing and know we could share a mutually rewarding and pleasurable relationship involving play, concern, love and yes, sweet caresses and lingering kisses. It outrages us that our love isn't accepted by your society of guns and violence, that those with so little value for life and joy self-righteously condemn us. That when we find love it must be secret and if discovered

our small lovers are tormented and we go to prisons where the authorities urge killers and rapists (who often spend less time behind bars) to brutalize us because our crime of love makes us their inferiors.

Why do we speak out? Mostly we don't. Our relatives rage against 'child-molesters', describing what mutilations should take place in vivid detail. I hesitated to write this for fear that somehow it would be traced back to me and lead to a return to the poverty I grew up with by way of a lost job and all prospects for making a living. Or I wondered, who would protest a frame-up of a self-confessed pervert? Even an obvious frame-up could be sold to you, John Q., as prevention, as La-Rouche's proposals to lock away gays was sold to millions of Californians as a way to save everyone else from AIDS.

I have repressed my pedo-sexuality. I am fortunate in that I find adults sexually attractive and I've been in a deep and loving relationship with an adult partner for 11 years. I think that in the cultural and 'counter-cultural' climate, I can live a happier and more open life by not becoming sexually involved with little girls, though I've loved a few in socially accepted ways, just more deeply in my heart. It's also best for the kids. Secrets are fun sometimes, but it's hard for anyone to hide love for long. That puts pressure on them, and especially keeping it from parents that they love as well. Plus police, gynecologists and social workers are often so intent on eradicating the evil that they are (generally inadvertently) callous to the child, causing great pain in all respects. Think of the boy in Louisville who was grilled for hours by the police in a way that Amnesty International should have condemned when he refused in 1981 to confirm tales that he had an adult lover. Think of the girl sent to jail because she wouldn't testify

against her father. No, that portion of my love which is directed in part by my sexuality toward children will never be expressed sexually, unless this social Wall falls as quickly and unexpectedly as the one in Berlin. Not for me the mad dash to freedom through the guns of your guards. Rather, here's my little Samisdat contribution.

I started this letter addressing you, Jason, then started talking to America as it embodies itself in those who oppose even the free discussion of this. Hopefully there was no resulting confusion. It seems natural to use this forum to turn outward and address at least those who claim to honor liberty. For that, Jason, thanks.

To those who love kids to the fullest measure, never lose sight of the childish beauty within you. Honor the boys and girls. Keep within you that special sensory awareness with a sense of beauty so evident in the smile of a child. To the Tom O'Carrolls, the n.s. aristoffs, the Joel Featherstones, all my brave brothers and sisters, thank you for showing the way to courage and joy. Most of all, though, to the children I love, thanks for bringing out what is best in me.

I am, as always...

Naked Child
No address listed

School lies

Dear *Anarchy*,

Greetings anarchists & free thinkers. I received my first copy of your zine the other day. Thanx. I really enjoyed readin' it. You have a good selection of various topics related to @. I especially liked the article "The Stone Age Revisited." That is probably the best single article on Native Americans I have read! It was also something that should be taught in elementary schools. I remember 10, 11 years ago (I'm 19 now) in school we were taught that the pilgrims came and taught the Native Americans how to grow crops. That all Native American tribes fought each other. And other sorts of lies. I have a question generated towards all those in the education dept. "Why are these lies against the Native

American people still being forced into our children's heads!?!?" It, I feel, is different trying to teach it to a high school student. At that age I was able to think for myself and find out what was not as it seemed. But the children have no other sources than their school books and teachers. Indigenous people are still depicted as uneducated waste. I was never taught by any 'history' (that word is false, it's Americanized lies) teacher who Leonard Peltier is or any of the current Native American leaders. The school books make it seem like it was the indigenous peoples' fault for daring to be on this continent! The teachers or books never describe what living on a reservation is like. The school curriculum needs to be changed! I am currently in a Wisconsin prison. Since I have come to prison a lot of my thoughts & beliefs have changed. I am seeing what this govt., state, police and the legal system are like. It's hard to know what it's like until it runs you over. This is the first time that I have really talked to Native Americans. (That was the shedding of any racist beliefs I had been taught.) I am able to understand their anger better. In the media the Native American peoples are depicted as non-working bums, and all they do is destroy nature = aka spear fishing. When the big spear fishing controversy was going on in Wisconsin the white news media made it seem like the Native Americans were doing it just to spite the white middle class sport fishermen. The news didn't go into how spear-fishing supplies them with food, and a product to sell. They have been doing this for a long time. How can a sport fisherman, who just wants the "Big One," try and stop that?! I would like to learn more about the Native American people of the Mid-west. Their religion, beliefs, living arrangements, the reservations, etc. and anything else. I don't want to make it sound like I am some patronizing white college kid. I just want to learn the truth. If anyone or group out there has pamphlets, zines, books, etc., etc. or personal stories could they please send them to me? I don't

have much for funds being where I am, but I can help pay for postage. Thank you *Anarchy* for printing the true history! Your other articles were interesting also. I am always eager to learn what goes on in the world and different peoples beliefs or theories. Your "Alternative Media Review" is very informative. Overall it's a great zine! [...]

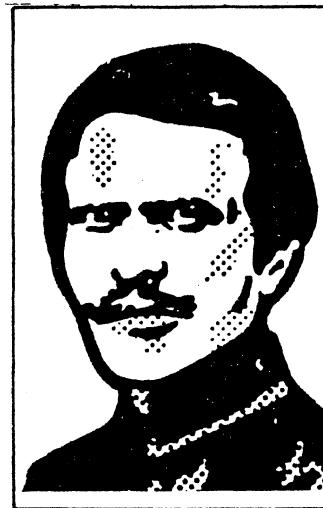
Still resisting,
Alex Rasmussen
#237396 R.C.I.

POB 900 - I
Sturtevant, WI. 53177

A knack of demagogues

Dear *Anarchy*,

There's a certain timely quality about "Max Anger's Song." [see *Anarchy* #35, page 17] At the same time it has a timelessness, an echo of the ages. He writes "On the lives of the rich pile a mountain of grief/For it's cuttin' 'em/And guttin' 'em/That brings us relief" and "what's their spilt blood when we're happy and gay."



Nestor Makhno

Timely in that Serbian thugs could substitute 'Croat' or 'Moslem' for 'rich', put it to the tune of an old folk song with nationalist connotations, and have music for the next gang rape. Azerbaijanis and Armenians could share the poem, each substituting the name of the other for 'rich'. Timeless in the sense that the Iroquois could chant it in days of yore to the genocide against the Erie. And would the NSDAP have needed

Horst Wessel if they'd had this poem? The Kristallnacht rhythms of "The city's been conquered by arson and looting" are too clear to miss.

The creation of simplistic solutions to real problems caricature and dehumanize individuals with a label and unleash a blind violence. With such a strategy it becomes possible to 'justify' Vietnamese children in ditches—possibly Cong and just gooks—or the dropping of a bomb on non-combatants in a Baghdad shelter—"they" started it.

And just as the dehumanization of people through the use of labels—nigger, honkie, raghead, rich pigs—leads to acts of evil that could not be justified against the vast majority so labelled if they were viewed as individuals, so too does violence have a logic of its own. Regardless of whether it begins as a tool to achieve justice or not it seems that ultimately those who benefit are those who love it best—a Czar toppled, a Stalin arises. It is certainly not something that we anarchists should glorify because the social relationships that it gives birth to are not tolerance and freedom but dominance and harsh repression. At best bloodshed is a necessity borne of desperation, an intolerable repression that cannot be otherwise eased. Beware of those who mistake the tool for the revolution and sing rapturously and rapaciously of it. It becomes a 'good' in itself and an indicator of the world that will follow. Even those, like Makhno, who used it as a necessary tool have fallen prey to its logic of domination. As the anarchist historian Voline related in his *Unknown Revolution*, Makhno had so dehumanized the enemy that 'their' women were gang raped by the guerilla and his men.

Just who are meant by 'rich'? The heads of certain specified companies? All lawyers, rock stars and athletes? 'Their' families? Does the 'rich' label justify a car bomb that kills a child as well as the intended victim? Perspective is involved here too—where I come from maybe Max would be considered rich... while he's stalking his rich, may-

be someone is stalking him as rich. Once you define it, how do you propose to make others with a love of violence adhere to your definition of appropriate targets? Too often others play out the ancient tribal urge to violence against the 'other' along racial, national, linguistic, religious or ideological lines.

What we need is to understand the social and economic forces involved in repression of freedom, but not to cease viewing each person by her or his actions within the social context. We need in short not to resort to simplistic, dehumanizing jingoism as a solution. We need also to realize that our actions bear a relationship to what we achieve. A celebration of gore and pain is not a path to a free world and a joyful, just society. Instead we should be slow to resort to violence—slow and loath. Perhaps we need to understand the price of it as the young Russian revolutionaries at the turn of this gory century understood it—to take a life, even in a just cause, is to forfeit your own.

Related to this rant is a brief commentary on what seemed to me a rebirth of Black Panther chic in Adam Bregman's article. What happened during the L.A. riots was not fun. People of all races were outraged by the King verdict and took to the streets in protest. Racist demagogues very quickly dehumanized the non-blacks as the Enemy and street gangs that customarily prey on South Central's people united to do what they most enjoy—cause pain, maim and disfigure, laugh at the suffering of others. The endzone dance over the writhing figure of the trucker attacked not for anything he'd done but because he was white and whites had been dehumanized—that was the kind of Dachau fun the riots were.

Unfortunately there are those so intent on finding a revolution to call their own that any blood-fest will do as the authentic item, like the anarchists so quick to take up the cause of Lenin and often so unhealthily slow to drop it. The Huey Newtons and Uncle Joes and Chés and Maos and Crips become the unlikely heroes of people whose love of

freedom becomes corrupted into love of violence.

Don't confuse violence with revolution. Don't let GI Joes and Rambos and black flag waving John Waynes convince you that their greater devotion to killing makes them the true revolutionaries. It's no real change at all from the status quo. One gang as opposed to another, one set of macho thugs or a PC set of macho thugs.

I have a vision of free, smiling children, not the Nechaevite goal of being "merry, while I tarry, on top of the man."

I am Naked Child
No address listed

Violation and distrust

i enjoyed reading "an unrepentant pedophile's" letter in #34, fall '92. his childhood lover apparently helped him to transcend a horrid situation. unconditional love and acceptance are rare and precious.

so i'll jump right into my own situation, and make my point along the way.

my own situation was this. i'm about four years old. my father and i are on the living room floor. we are naked. we're playing. i'm having fun. he's bouncing me up and down on his belly. i'm leaning back against his legs, trying to stay upright, all the more difficult for my giggling. but then, it's not fun any more because he's gone. well, he's still underneath me but he's not paying attention to me any more, so it's not fun. he keeps bouncing and i fall forward onto his chest. i lay there, bouncing, bored and a little scared. it's not about us having fun any more, he's doing the same thing but he's not paying attention to me and i don't understand. then it's wet on his belly and that scares me. but he still doesn't pay attention to me and i feel lonely and i want it to stop.

here's another of my situations. i'm about eight years old. he's tickling me, poking at me, at my ribs, between my legs. he's making like it's fun, but it's not. i don't want him to touch me and it hurts, but he's making like it's fun. i try to keep my legs closed, but he pulls them open

and pokes me. i try to fend off his fingers but he's bigger and stronger than me. and besides, he's playing. it's fun. between my screams and tears and protests are giggles that come when he pokes my ribs. so see, it's fun. right?

the situation was this. he's bigger and stronger. he's my father and he takes care of me. he's older and he knows more. he tells me that i like it. i say no. he continues. no, i don't want this to be happening. but he continues anyway.

twenty years pass, and now my situation is this. memories that were rapping at my consciousness now regularly just smash straight on through, and i have a hell of a mess to attend to. but i can look out and see why the only time i felt i was worth anything was when i was fucking someone. why that someone was usually distant and abusive. why i confused fucking with love. why i was overwhelmed with grief and panic every time someone touched my breast. why it always seemed that i had something evil inside me, a secret, and if anyone got too close they'd find out.

my own will was overthrown by this adult who tried to convince me that i was doing something enjoyable. i do remember pain. but what i remember most distinctly, what i was left with each time my father forced himself on me, are feelings of powerlessness, rage, isolation, violation and distrust. these things stay with me still. old habits...make a hell of a mess to attend to.

the situation as i see it from my position as the locus of his actions is this. he did these things because he could. the milieu that compelled him to act is complex, but the point of transfer from his situation to mine is that of authority. power as an older and wiser person, as a caretaker, as an adult. my acceptance of his authority was not an issue. i was not in a position to say no and be heard.

those who choose to have sexual relationships with children must understand that, from a child's point of view, age and experience, and even sheer physical strength, probably give an

adult some modicum of authority. "an unrepentant pedophile" acknowledges this situation in a parent-child relationship. does he, do other pedophiles see that situation in other adult-child relationships?

(an aside: i cringe at the label, the idea, of pedophile, since it implies a fetish and an objectification of children.)

i would call for this situation: that children, who tend to trust more readily than time-tempered grown-ups, would not have that trust breached. that adults would not capriciously or profitably wield their power, much less abuse it, in sexual (or any) relationships with children. that children are embraced and accepted, by those who would have sex with them, as more than objects of sexual desire. that children would be respected and treated as the complicated, vulnerable, multi-dimensional humans they are.

kls, los angeles

Just hopelessness

A,
How are you all? I'd been wanting to write for awhile but have been plagued with some of the very things described in "Amnesia" [see *Anarchy* #35, p.5], though forgetting isn't at all my problem, just hopelessness. Some of this came from seeing the insurrectionary fever of last spring subside into bizness as usual and even more galling, hip bizness, so much of it, also friends falling into drug addictions from heroin to vodka to pot and social degeneration and psychopathy on the rise. Plus ozone hole 15% bigger in '91, more trees gone, 5 bay area toxic gas releases, etc., etc.

Let's have a protest? Doesn't seem to cut it plus it'll just be the same old faces, some of them anarchists who are pretty unanarchistic.

And the project dwellers across the street, those with really no future are doing donuts in their hotrods till 3AM, testing their weapons, 2 shot dead in the week before I left. So let's just get high and fuck. But my lungs are scorched and my heart dead. Something's wrong with my back and it takes me 3 weeks

Letters

to get rid of a cold.

No, amnesia doesn't get me, collapse does.

Never mind, I'll try to put a positive spin on things. There's a burgeoning squatting movement that's taken off in S.F. as well as Santa Cruz & San Jose. In S.F. they have several buildings occupied by homeless people with AIDS and anti-renters. In early December a sniper at the Army St. Projects across the street from me tagged a cop but wasn't caught. Epicenter has a switchboard for info, free food, medix, shelter & events. Tues.-Sunday 12-6PM @ (415) 431-4600.

Down in Long Beach there was an anarchist get together that was pretty interesting. Over here in Providence Newspeak exists next to a free artspace performance place called AS220 in downtown. Newspeak is now providing both a space and info materials, books, zines, videos & cassettes that didn't exist before. A local activist group, Anarchist Revolutionary Movement, existed but then split up over the use of arms vs. changing the name to @ Cooperative Movement. And anti-Japanese graffiti that I altered into anti-nationalist, capitalist messages still stands on the overpass of a very busy street from 2 years + ago!

So life is just popping along. As a letter in the last *EF!* paper said, "expectation of things going perfectly, and disillusionment when they don't is a product of a TV culture used to watching conflict introduction, resolution in 30 minute sitcoms...."

I myself used to watch alot. [...]

Love,

P.K., San Francisco, CA.

The genuine article

Dear Jason and Toni,

I haven't finished reading @ #35 yet, but so far I like it a lot. The articles and comments by Churchill, Zerzan, Jaimes, Featherstone, Sonnenschein and others in the past three issues have helped greatly in my quest to better understand myself and this crazy world. I was also thrilled to see my letter in there. I greatly appreciate this forum for open discussion of a topic which is usually either hidden

from view or exploited for profit. The discussion seems to have become a little more inclusive of rational thought, but among the many comments on child-adult sex in the last two issues, several evidenced profound misconceptions, to which I feel compelled to respond. Rather than speak to each letter one at a time, I'll try to address the issues in a little essay:

I am the genuine article, sexu-

ally attracted to boys (and occasionally girls), usually aged 12-15. Not a pedophile, nor strictly an ephebophile, I am a 'boy-lover', though I don't necessarily 'love' someone just because looking at them makes my dick jump up and shout. Why am I attracted to boys and not women? I don't know. I don't hate or fear women, and I'm not 'sick', beyond the fact that I read stuff like @, and sometimes even like

it. I have been tested with a 567 question MMPI "personality inventory" and, perhaps to my discredit, showed no 'abnormalities'. I am certainly not 'warped' in the sense of having less regard than most people for the happiness and health of others. I care very much how my boyfriend feels. For me, 'sex' is decidedly less pleasant with someone who isn't turned on, and it's pretty much impossible

with someone who's unhappy. I am definitely not into domination. Contrary to the rantings of those women and men who've been rendered sexphobic by male sponsored pro-marriage propaganda, there is a big difference between a desire to participate in a 'sexual' activity with someone and a desire to boss them around, with the latter forming a much smaller part of my makeup than that of most Amerikkans.

I am also not an "every person for him/herself" type anarchist. I agree with W.B. & x.m., that human behavior should be considered in a social context. But meaningful discussions of "social power" must take account of actual human behavior. It is true that our society has almost no respect for the happiness of children. But no one is more aware of this than people who find children sexually attractive. It is natural, at least for perverts anyway, to prefer happy friends to sad ones. Despite how children are treated in our society, the lip service we give to the importance of gratifying the desires of adults allows children to readily conceive of happiness. They know from birth what they like and what they don't like, and as bad as our society is, only in the most extreme cases does it actually succeed in taking this knowledge away, not



Collage by Phillip Lollar

even from children whose parents are so bad that they are afraid of adults. Thus, all it takes to shatter the existing power structure is to simply ask your friend what makes them feel good, and listen to what they say. If you don't give them a lot of shit about it, they will generally let you know in no uncertain terms. Any law enforcement manual will tell you, this is exactly how most 'molesters' win the trust of their 'victims' (admittedly, there are some 'molesters' who are also shit-heads and treat kids as bad as any school principle, but even the police will usually acknowledge that these are in the minority). According to these manuals, the way they keep kids coming back to their houses again and again is the same: by 'befriending' them—paying attention to what they say, and letting them do what they feel like doing, simultaneously giving the kid a sense of personal value and autonomy that most 'loving' parents would consider subversive of their authority. Hence, much child-adult sex, from the child's point of view, takes place within the framework of sexual exploration with a friend/doing a friend a favor, or in many cases, simply having fun and getting off together, in flagrant violation of the commandments of authority figures. Hell, you'd think these perverts and their friends were some kind of (*i.e.* social) anarchists or something, huh!? (Incidentally, did you ever wonder what a "sex ring" is? A "sex ring"—no joke—is when two or more of these 'molesters' know each other.) A 'social' issue I'll address some other time is the relatively large difference between the socialization of boys and that of women, which allows most boys to enjoy experiences which often make patriarchally programmed (to be 'appropriately' sexphobic) women feel guilty and ashamed.

I agree with M.K. that it can be useful to know the causes and effects of our actions, and those of others as well, assuming that these relationships can be clearly established. I do not know what causes my attraction to boys. I have read many pages of unscientific speculation by

'experts' on the subject, and not found anything resembling me in them. The most thorough, sound scientific investigation I have seen, by Paul Okami in a recent issue of *The Journal of Sex Research*, found that 'pedophiles' have absolutely nothing in common except their 'pedophilia', and I might add, their humanity, which is frequently overlooked.

I have identified a number of 'causative factors' for the oppressive, sexphobic behavior of others which I have endured every day of my life, for 16 years as a 'boy', and since I was 12, as a 'boy-lover'. Basically, they boil down to (surprise, surprise) European/Christian-style patriarchy and the economic systems which have allowed it to flourish. This ideology has consistently demanded that women, girls, and more recently boys, be chaste outside of marriage. The (at first, male generated, still mostly male sponsored) propaganda campaigns necessary to perpetuate this arrangement have left many American women deathly afraid of sex, and most men afraid of homosexuality. In pre-Christian Greece, man/boy sex and love flourished alongside patriarchy, as it has and does in many societies (not that I endorse this arrangement). However, since the embracement of Christianity by Rome in the 300s, when homophobic and sexphobic passages were added to, and references to boy-loving behavior by Christ were deleted from the Bible, 'boy-lovers' have been consistently subjected not only to criminalization, but also to some of the most viciously biased, grossly inaccurate, and heavily censored coverage in the 'Western' media of any identifiable category of people. (Indeed, extermination of the cultures and peoples of the "fourth world" have often been partially rationalized by accurate reports of their acceptance of sexually expressed man/boy love.) In recent times, sexphobic anti-porn 'feminists' have teamed up with certain fascists and religious leaders, to try to "straighten things out," by making men equally sexphobic. They have revived the Church's definition of sex as sin, by portraying it as a form of violence. It would take

several pages just to touch on all the kinds of misery caused by their highly profitable campaigns; the degree of this misery, for young and old alike, cannot be described in words.

As for the effects on children of having sex with adults...well, that's what I sat down to write about. I care very much about this subject, and have spent a lot of time researching it. However, since this introduction has run so long, I will have to save the main body of the essay for next letter. For now, suffice it to say that, despite a prodigious effort by victimologists to justify their existence "by any means necessary," there is no evidence that the behavior described above is harmful to anyone.

Thanks, Peace, and Love,
D.M., San Francisco, CA.

Pedophile relations

As a British bisexual pedophile I would like to add my own two cents worth to the ongoing transgenerational debate.

As 'unrepentant' intimates (p.79 *et seq.* Fall '92), for troubled children the best thing that could happen to them is to come into contact with a genuine pedophile.

The notorious one-eyed pedophile Vachs suggests that pedophiles deliberately target vulnerable kids as prey.

He misreads the dynamic of pedophile relations. It is because we love children that we can easily spot children who are disturbed, distraught, unhappy, etc.

If we interject ourselves into these children's lives it is with the noblest of intentions: to help them, succour them, cherish them, value them, love them.

Since when has love been a sin?

It would be disingenuous of me to pretend that all pedophiles are thus saintlike.

We are human beings. Some pedophiles behave badly.

However, so do many 'normal' adult-oriented heterosexuals and homosexuals.

Overall, I suspect, pedophiles have a higher ethical standard than the 'norms' whose vociferous criticism resounds world-

wide.

It is worth pointing out that much child abuse is perpetrated by men who are not genuine pedophiles. These villains abuse children as a displacement activity. Intra-familial abuse is a paradigmatic example of this.

Shaun Perry makes a most telling point when he avers that the power-node in intergenerational relationships is often skewed in the child's favour (p.32, Winter '90-91).

Even (or especially) in the fraught circumstances of an attempted 'pick-up' I still find that for all my vaunted rhetoric vis-à-vis child-love I can be reduced within seconds to a shaking, palpitating wreck.

Objectively I can see the farce and pathos of the situation. I am a macho male, strong, athletic, powerfully built but I tremble with fear when I want to approach a child, overwhelmed by his or her beauty, desperate to avoid frightening him or her.

Needless to say, in this confused and anxious state I usually slink away with my tail in between my legs, abject and frustrated.

I confess that I am unusually neurotic but I do not think my emotions are atypical.

The image of the predatory pedophile belies a more complex reality in which a pedophile has to steel himself and pluck up courage to fulfil his desire.

I hasten to add that this desire is not just genital lust (tho' that is part of it and I am not ashamed of my sexual desire)—but a multi-faceted, multi-hued compendium of affective desire.

I have had friendships with children where there has been no sex play at all. For me these have still been pedophile relationships.

I note that the prison system gets mentioned quite a lot in *Anarchy*.

Having had the dubious honor of serving two sentences in English jails I have a less romantic conception of prison life than some idealistic readers.

Obviously I write from the stance of a sex offender. If one is being beaten, punched, kicked and scalded with boiling water by other prisoners because of the nature of one's offence (lov-

Letters

ing a child, shock, horror) then it is difficult to feel much solidarity with them as fellow warriors in the class war.

It strikes me as somewhat incongruous for 'normal' prisoners to adopt this hifalutin', holier-than-thou 'morality'. Their own codes of conduct in the outside world are not exactly beyond reproach.

But back to the excitement of pedophilia.

My nightmare is of being forced to undergo 'treatment'.

Pedophilia is such an integral part of my being that I am sure my personality would disintegrate if some mind-meddling buffoon sought to 'cure' me.

I do recognize that it is an aberrant orientation but it's more and it's all I've got.

I don't know that it is particularly productive to ponder overlong on the aetiology of paedophilia.

Different strokes for different folks is my motto.

In any study cohort of paedophiles you will find varying life histories, disparate experiences.

Simplistic explanations are not worth bothering with tho' T. from Baltimore would presumably disagree (p.79, Fall '92).

I hate to say this Mr. T. (*the* Mr. T.?) but your views are baloney and balderdash.

A "desire to rape" is *not* prevalent amidst paedophiles. The simmering aggression of heterosexual 'norms' probably represents this scenario.

Forced sex is *not* the most prevalent manifestation of child-

adult sex in the real world. That is Mr. T.'s fantasy.

I am sorry that Mr. T. has experienced misfortune in his life—haven't we all!—but he is plain wrong wrong wrong when he makes his wild, emotive extrapolations.

On a lighter note, after Madonna's famous revelatory film, I hear that Macaulay Culkin is about to embark on his own risque opus: *In Bed with Mac*.

With all the money he's got he could make a paedophile very happy in every sense of the word.

Speaking personally, as a pauper, I would gladly enter into an unequal and oppressive relationship with 11 year old Mr. Culkin whose winsome charm bowls me over.

He could take me out for treats on the town in his limousine! I would prostrate myself before him.

In response to Mr. T.'s question—why are children desirable:

that is the \$64,000 question.

If I may borrow Mr. T.'s term 'trite'—it is trite to say that it is 'insecurity' that impels ped desire.

Lots of people are insecure but only some of us worship at the shrine of childhood.

It's name check time: Lewis Carroll, T.H. White, J.M. Barrie, Benjamin Britten, Oscar Wilde.

Illustrious role models to inspire we peds: not by any stretch of the imagination the psychopathic monsters conjured up by pedophobes.

Please excuse disjointed dicta. Alas, I don't have access to a word processor. Writing with a pen is so wearisome.

M.M., London, England

In the dark

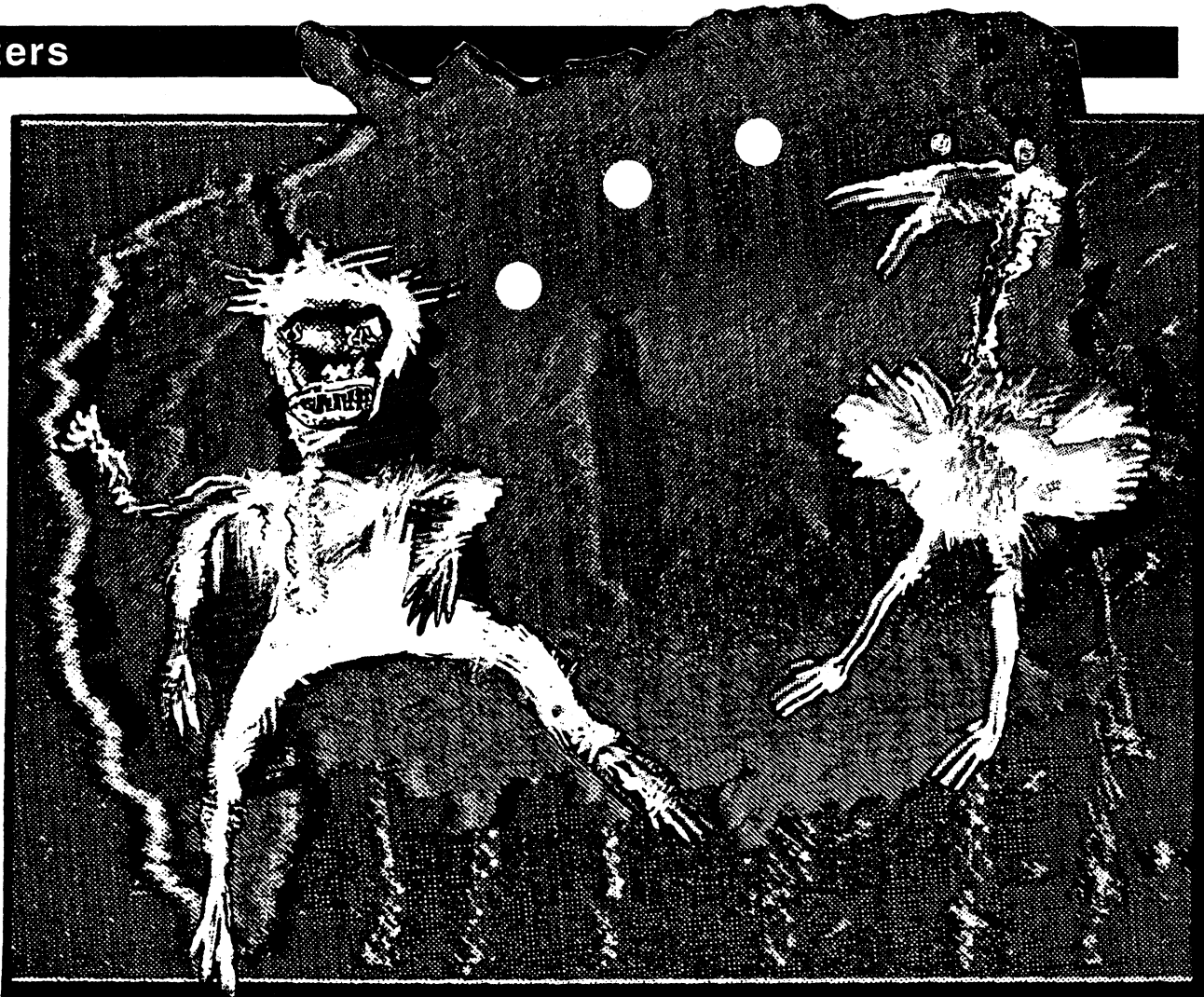
Dear *Anarchy*,

I just got finished reading my first copy of your insightful zine. (Yes, cover to cover.) I had to write.

The copy I received was issue #34, Fall '92. I had ordered it through *Utne Reader's* sample page, sent to me via an outside source. You see, I am one of Massachusetts' innumerable prisoners, searching for an ideal amidst the oppression.

I was sentenced in May of '91 in Salem, Mass. for being a fag. (No, really, a member of my jury stated emphatically in post trial documents, as well as verbal testimony, that he found me guilty on his assumption that I was a homo-sexual and not on any evidence given.) Well, he was right, I am a homo-sexual, and now I'm here. The judge in my case (as you might expect), seemed to think I was getting a square deal and thus negated this revelation as insignificant enough to be not worthy of his considerations for a new trial. I suppose I really hadn't expected anything less, after all! he is a judge and I'm but a lowly fag.

Alas, this is not my reason for



Graphic by Mark Neville (POB 3187, Fremont, CA. 94539-0318).

writing. I am writing because for the first time in months (18 in total) I am able to walk through the prison yard feeling as though I am not alone.

I began thinking about anarchist issues when I was around eight. At which time, there were two fairly significant events that acted as catalysts to my embodiment of these ideas. The first event was my viewing of a film entitled "A Man Called Horse." At the young and tender age of eight I was so turned on by watching the Indians (the heroes of the film) drag their white captive through the prairie, I tried to re-enact the whole scene by myself, alone and naked in the bathroom.

The second event occurred about a year later. The year was 1970. Following the lead of Steinem and her crew of social morons, myself and my friend Earl decided it was time that kids were as deserving of equal rights as were women. We staged a two man picket in front of our elementary school with the intention of demanding fair and equal treatment. We wanted to be included in all decisions that ultimately affected our young lives. Needless to say, we were all but ignored.

We both took our cause to a more primordial source of oppression, our parents. Being ridiculed and scorned there, we decided on a more confrontational course of action; we set a hillside by our homes ablaze.

Had we been found out, our fight might have ended right there. But we weren't found out; instead, we both began lives living on the fringe, understanding right from wrong and understanding that adults usually had no idea which was which.

It's been twenty-two years since that fire, twenty-two years of expressing ideas which usually culminated in isolation, scorn and ridicule. I didn't know then what to call myself, and to be perfectly honest, until I discovered your magazine, I still didn't know what label the mainstream had affixed to my political agenda. (Pretty naive, huh?) I know now.

My first brush with familiarizing myself with Anarchy as a philosophical (or as the case

may be anti-philosophical) principle was when I was sixteen. Sitting in the bedroom of one of my more bourgeois friends (All turned out slaves to the working class), I was treated to a pre-stereophonic Sex Pistols, "Never Mind the Bollocks." I was blown away.

The years between then and now have provided me a more eclectic view of my surroundings. I doubt very much there is a single stone left unturned. I had kids, had jobs, had religion, had headaches, had more religion and finally had enough. I am now 31.

Reading your zine, I suddenly realize what a child I've become. I mean, all the arguments are the same; I don't think there was a single article, letter or column that didn't hit home. I came to all of these same conclusions on my own. I feel like I did when I was coming out of the closet. Wow! I could never have imagined that there were so many others whose thoughts were similar to my own.

In the last ten years or so I have been hidden away in an existential underworld of Nietzsche, Dostoevsky and Sartre. Other than the periodic influence of Marx, Dante and Tolstoy for balance I have been in the dark. Thus I write to you now for help.

Being a prisoner, my access to extremist literature is limited at best. I hunger to learn more about what is really going on and what is being done to stop the bullshit. I am impoverished of new freethinking ideas and concepts. I want to know more.

I am interested, as a writer in starting my own newsletter from behind the wall. I would like any advice either your organization or your readers can offer. I would further like to receive any periodicals or zines that are available to the imprisoned without cost. I am interested in all extremist, intellectual or Anarchy issues and would be extremely grateful for any contributions to my further development. (P.S. I am also interested in Punk literature.)

As I am serving a six to ten year sentence based solely on my particular preference I have no qualms about signing my name.

If you ask me, Anarchy is not extreme it's logical. Industrial America; now that's extreme....

Sincerely,
Christian Delp W50661
POB 466
Gardner, MA. 01440

B.A.D. clambake

On August 1, the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade converged on the edge of the Miles Standish State Park (Plymouth MA) and threw a clambake. The site was idyllic, thirty acres of forest on which rested a hundred year old cottage overlooking an enticing pond. Against this backdrop the only things needed to make this a perfect occasion were food, drink and friends and we brought those!

The main course was a true new england tradition; a clam-bake. A wood fire was started in small earthen pit. Covering the pit was a grill upon which was placed a trash can filled with water. Once the water in the trash can was brought to a boil sacks of potatoes, onions, corn on the cob, sweet potatoes and clams were thrown in and allowed to cook together for an hour. The result was magnificent, especially when slathered in butter. Accompanying this fine feast were generous portions of homemade cole slaw, chicken satay, salads, hot dogs, tofu dogs, hamburgers, tofu burgers and chips, dips and tonic (soda pop). This abundance and variety was washed down by liberal quantities of either beer or Rhode Island Red Wine and Ting Punch.

The punch was the creation of Joan, proprietor of the bookstore NEWSPEAK (43 Richmond St. Providence, RI. 02903; 401-331-3540). She came along with her partner Frank and the folks from the Anarchist Revolution Movement. The Anarchist Youth Federation from Newton were well represented and from the Love & Rage network, there were Phil and Liz. Two of the original founding members of the brigade, Peter and Becky along with their daughter Tesla were also present. Peter is the author of the essay, "The Politics of Identity and Difference," which appeared in *Against Sepa-*

ratism. The rest of those attending were new england anarchists and their friends. The total attendance was around forty-five individuals, ranging in age from two to forty-seven.

The perfect accompaniment to fine food and drink is good conversation and with anarchists, well let's just say they are natural talkers. Many people took the opportunity to swim in the pond or use the canoe for relaxation. Whatever else people might have done, it was an excellent opportunity for old acquaintances to meet and renew friendships and for new friendships to be started.

The Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade would like to extend it's appreciation to all those who helped make this such enjoyable and successful occasion.

B.S.A., Central Islip, NY.

PS: Plans are underway for another one this summer, date and site still to be decided. If you would like to be notified of when and where, send your name and address to: BAD Brigade, PO Box 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238.

Routine misrepresentations

After finding a letter from B. McCormick in my mailbox a couple of years ago, offering to desist from attacking my writings if I would cease to criticize "deep ecology" in return, I decided I would no longer respond to his routine misrepresentations of my views. I do not make deals in matters of principle.

Readers may want to ask themselves whether, when I cite Karl Marx, I regard him as the 'be-all' and 'end-all' of social theory. Or whether I oppose ecotechnologies. Or whether I want to burn wiccans at the stake. Or whether I view all of the ecomystical critics of my ideas as virtual or actual Nazis. Or whether I hate feminists and women generally. Or whether I foam at the mouth, rant, rave, and gush-while, needless to emphasize, all my criticisms of "deep ecology" are seen as nothing but personal attacks. Or whether I would let biotechnology run riot in the world. Or

whether every utopistic vision I hold is completely congruent with the present—whose potentialities for a future anarcho-communist society I critically explore. [See the letter from Bill McCormick in *Anarchy* #35, pp.72-4.]

This sort of stuff will probably go on as long as I am alive and possibly well after I'm dead. A great deal of ecological and anarchist history is being rewritten today—that is, where it is not simply being forgotten, as one generation replaces another. If *Anarchy* readers agree in appreciable numbers that the gothic views and approaches I've cited above can be found in my writings, then I have been wasting my time developing an ecoanarchist outlook over the past thirty years.

Unfortunately my age and illnesses now oblige me to give priority to my own unfinished projects. Hence I must respectfully trust to the intelligence of my readers to decide what I really think when such demagogic misrepresentations of my work are published.

Murray Bookchin
Burlington, VT.

Leaving to drift

Thanks to everyone who makes *Anarchy*!

Whatever radicalism, whatever lucidity I have attained the last few years, this journal has had a lot to do with it. [...]

Soon I will be leaving Olympia to 'drift' for a couple months or so. No solid destination is set but I would like to meet, visit and maybe wander with anarchists in North America and maybe down south. Wherever you are correspondence is welcome from readers of *Anarchy* and a visit is not unlikely.

About the essay this letter is on the back of, you are welcome to print it or part of it, although I don't expect you will. It's pretty long (14 pages). And much of it is a "ravaging for parts" in situationist theory which you might find tiresome. Please respond if you feel like it. Just in case you don't, for anyone interested it's mainly a discussion of the recuperation of '60s counterculture and its effects. It seems

to me that the "psychedelic movement" and counterculture spiritually filled the void where situationist lucidity was lacking here in the U.S. Furthermore, these and other elements of the counterculture like rock-n-roll have spurred a revolution in American capitalism's mode of social reproduction, especially in its effectiveness of recuperation and consumer manipulation. A copy will gladly be sent to anyone who gives me a SASE or something to trade.

By the way, what ever happened to the idea of a "post-situationist revolutionary tendency"? You changed the heading on that address list just as I as starting to think it was a great

idea! Let me guess: you figured that opening the "Anarchist Contacts" list to a more broad conception of "anarchist practice of one form or another" would get a better response. (If so, you seem to have been right). The list has grown more interesting the last couple issues. The mood seems to be that before more people simply get to know each other, until a wider network of face to face contagious joy emerges, defining a particular revolutionary tendency that could match the SI in coherence and sophistication is absurd. Hakim Bey's "Communiques of the Association for Ontological Anarchy" in the popular book *TAZ*, can be read as a joke on

the whole idea of a 'post-situationist' organization, announcing purges in the chaos movement, etc. That sense of humor about the language of organization is much appreciated (by myself included) because it points to the very problematic challenge of any revolutionary organization or movement that seeks to be prefigurative and liberatory in itself. Still, there is a lot that can be learned from the sits. And I look forward to a revolutionary practice of creating situations and a lucidity that matches that of the SI and goes beyond. [...]

Unru Lee
POB 10096
Olympia, WA. 98502

PS: The last few *Anarchys* have been especially excellent!

Delicious anecdotes

Dear Jason McQuinn,

I've just been savoring that wonderful article in the winter issue of *Anarchy* by Manolo Gonzalez. Where in the world did you find such a treasure chest of delicious anecdotes? I've been a Spanish war buff for a few years now, with particular emphasis on the anarchists, and I'm just stunned by the fact that I've never heard of him. It shows you how much I know.

You must be teasing us when you fail to tell us anything about Manolo Gonzalez, or whether you've translated the article from Spanish or Catalan, or what Gonzalez has done with his long life, or where he lives. If he lives in the eastern United States, I'd like to meet him.

Just imagine! This family friend of Buenaventura Durruti, who attended the Escuela Moderna, who participated in the infamous May Days, and who's about to give us fresh new testimony on the suppression of the POUM militia as well as commentary on Orwell's assessment of the war, this invaluable witness to all those events that the world wants to understand, has waited until the very autumn of his existence to finally spill the beans!

I say "Hats Off, *Anarchy* magazine," for discovering Manolo.

Yours Faithfully,
B.H., Philadelphia, PA.

DOMESTICATION NEWS

WORTH NOTING IS A CONCISE ARTICLE IN THE March 4 issue the British journal *Nature*. Almost 4,000 years of agriculture in central Mexico yield a dramatic picture to the research efforts of archaeologists O'Hara, Street-Perrot, and Burt. Conclusively debunked is the notion that traditional farming methods were more benign than more modern methods.

SEVERE soil erosion and other forms of environmental degradation commenced, in fact, with agriculture itself. By the time of the Spanish conquest (1521 A.D.), contrary to widespread belief, Mesoamerica presented anything but a pristine landscape. "Erosion caused by the Spanish introduction of plough agriculture," the authors observe from exhaustive soil samples, "was apparently no more severe than that associated with traditional agricultural methods." As they explain later in the article, "it is hard to distinguish any specific impact of the introduction of plough agriculture and draught animals by the Spanish after A.D. 1521.

THE POINT is plain: domestication is domestication, and embodies a qualitatively negative logic for the natural world. Agriculture per se brings a ruinous, unidirectional impact, despite the wishful thinking of those who envision a coexistence with domestication, consisting of benign, 'green' methods that would reverse the global destruction of the land.

THE DEVASTATION exists on a much more basic level, whose reality must be faced. As the article concludes, "There is a move by many environmental agencies both in Mexico and elsewhere for a return to traditional forms of agriculture, as they are considered to be better for the environment. As our findings indicate that traditional farming techniques cause significant erosion, it is unlikely that a return to prehistoric farming methods would solve the problem of environmental degradation."

—John Zerzan

Vagit-Prop

By Annie Le Brun

If any naive women still cherished illusions about the revolutionary character of the neo-feminist hullabaloo of the last few years, turning the *Second Sex* into televised images will have the undeniable merit of finally disillusioning them.

After repeated interventions by the French Ministry of Culture and the Ministry for Women's Rights, here we have the monument to State Feminism which the worst enemies of women never dared to dream of. Here we have none but right-thinking and upstart ladies—women cabinet members, cabinet members' wives, authoresses and all sorts of officials—who set out under the watchful eye of the Great Mamamouchi de Beauvoir to draw us an unsparing picture of the feminine condition.

For her gaze must appear to disclose to us irrefutable facts with a dreadful objectivity. For example, incest with little girls is practiced "very often with the approval of the mother, because she prefers that sperm and money not be spent outside the family; so she encourages it." Also, most men prefer to cohabit with women in couples for the sole reason that it's cheaper than going to a brothel: "There are some such ulterior motives...which are more or less in the heads of many men."

I will not compile a list of revelations of this ilk; it would be too long. But it is still interesting to note how such basic truths are inserted amidst the evocation of real aspects of feminine misery: clitoridectomy, rape, polygamy, incest..., in order to banalize the real dramas of the lives of many women and to dramatize the banality of the feminine condition in general.

Because it is not so much a matter of working to reduce the misery of many women as it is to exploit it as an irresistible justification for the exercise of a power with is now no longer merely ideological. There is nothing new in this. It is, of course, according to the same casuistry that the various Marxist-Leninist bureaucracies founded their power. Otherwise why lay the blame on men rather than on the Catholic religion with its untenable position on contraception, whose dogmas doctors still put forward in refusing to practice IVG or perform abortions? Otherwise why lay the blame on men rather than on religion for the enslavement of women in the Muslim world, in Africa, in Pakistan, in India? And, on this subject, one could wish that the Indian, African and North American women who gave assistance to the mini-series had been a bit more careful about the role allotted to them and had been aware of this constant recourse to the atrocities from elsewhere in order to legitimate speeches and maneuvers here. This is a detestable manifestation of an all-purpose Third Worldism which justifies everything and which will surely not have been one of the glories of the left of these last twenty years.

But it all hangs together very well when the moralism which animates these latest philanthropic ladies finds its favorite land in Maoist China with its undeniable successes (we're still waiting to hear what they are) in "revalorizing the image of the woman." How happy one is to hear this from the mouth of a sort of female

screw or matron, an official in charge of education in this dreamland. That the rights of woman are magnified in a country where the most elementary rights of man are constantly and systematically flouted does not seem to bother our champions of feminine liberty.

Let's note that, after having been on the wrong track regarding the freedom of women in the Soviet Union for the last 35 years, Simone de Beauvoir does not hesitate for a moment to relapse with China. Even if, here and there, she thought it was well to point out feebly that today she has doubts about the existence of a Socialist State, and that "women must take matters into their own hands." This does not prevent the Stalinist press

(*L'Humanité*, *L'Humanité-Demanche* and even *Révolution*) waxing the most enthusiastic about these TV shows which inaugurate, in the history of ideological propaganda, what will have to be called 'Vagit-Prop'.

You cannot retrieve your losses. These programs may someday provide the most complete example of a *Feminist Realism* which, in its exaltation of miserablism, its Jesuitic argumentation and its conventionalism, has little to envy in the worst Socialist Realist productions. And this in two stages (the first the clearing of womankind up to absolute purity), then three movements: (1) the intensive accumulation of the most horrible examples of female distress; (2) their systematic generalization, atrocity-mongering, till it is quite natural to conclude by "believing that Indian women's vocation is to be burnt," and (3) to indulge in the stereotyped ridicule of women degraded by beauty treatment: ornaments, despairingly alienated by masculine concupiscence.

And this is the case insofar as, for men, "buttocks and breasts remain privileged objects...It is because they are useless, that there is no project which animates them," and that "this is what man looks for in a woman, it is passivity, it is immanence, it is the non-object, it is contingency,

the naked presence, the fact of being there without anything else." One would at least like to see those concerned with stating *their* opinions. They might have a different point of view than this Areopagus of State cub scoutmistresses. Maybe they would even risk speaking of *love*, which has been simply passed over in silence, no doubt as a category deemed existentially useless.

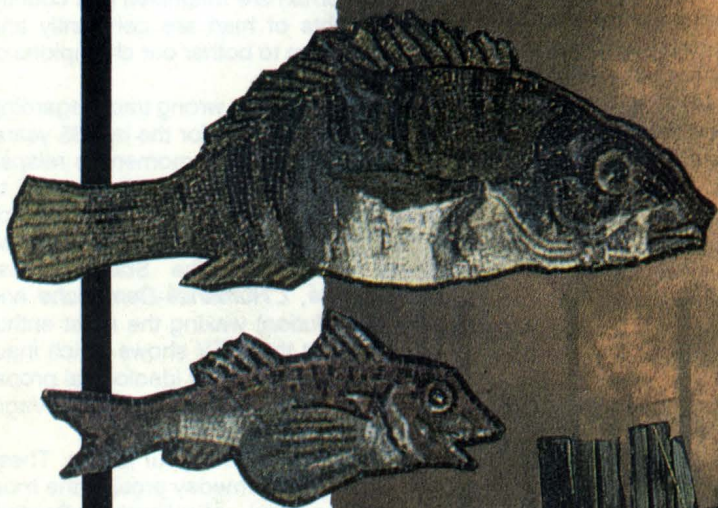
So it seems to me that, 35 years after this founding event of neo-feminism, women have in this ideological offering nothing to be very proud of. It is nothing but theoretical fake stuff, sewn with threads soaked in blood, which power would like to force them to accept.

But where can you be Théroigne de Méricourt, Louise Michel, Virginia Woolf?

This review of *The Second Sex* television series presented in France in 1986 has been revised and abridged. It will appear in similar form in the enlarged *Rants* anthology currently in the works, edited by Adam Parfrey and Bob Black.



Collage by Ms. Chiph.



Collage by Phillip Lollar (San Francisco, CA.).

C.A.L.
POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446
U.S.A.

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED